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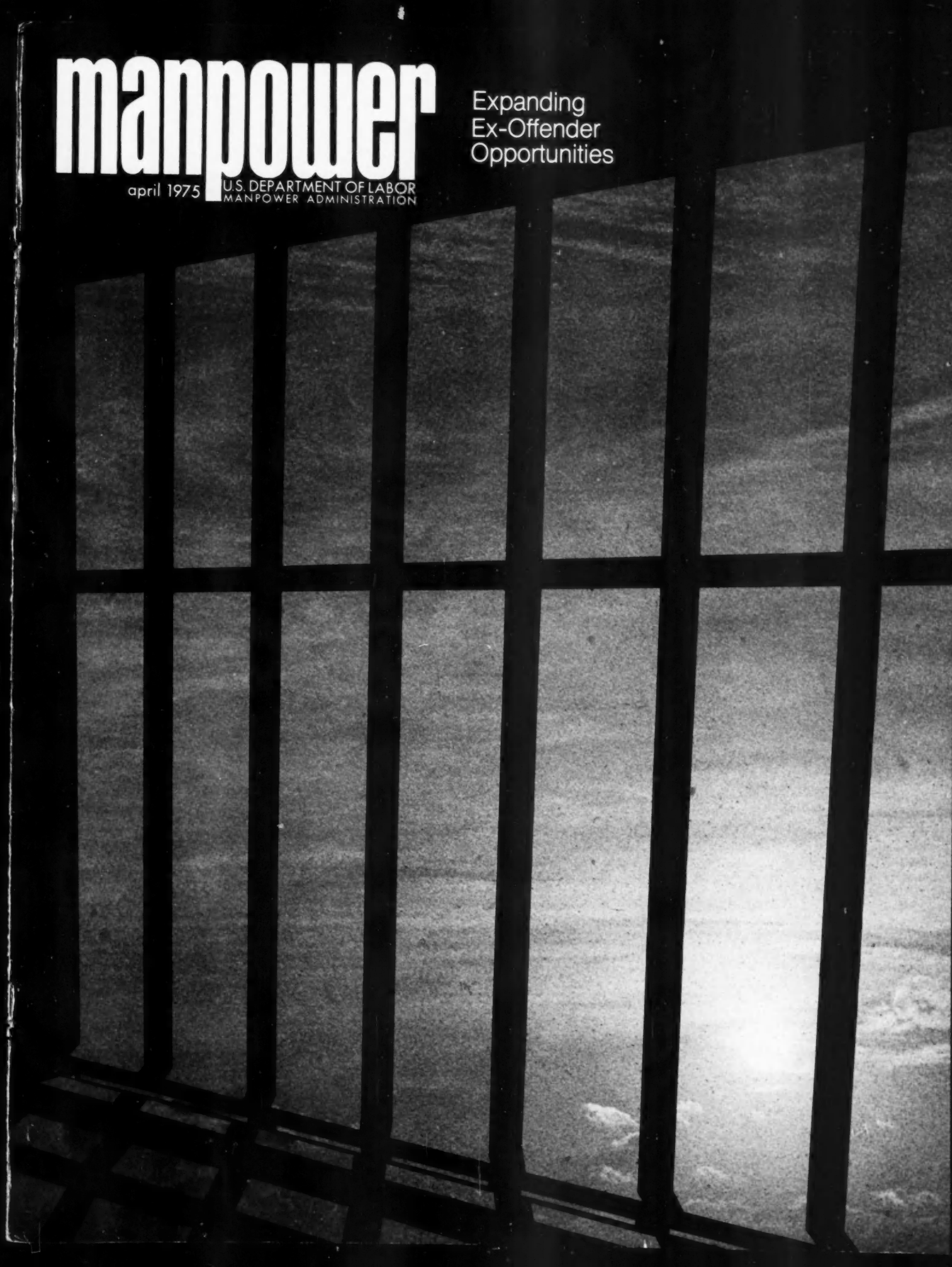
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Expanding Ex-Offender Opportunities



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MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION

Unlocking the Doors

The idea of being locked in with no way out offers promising raw material for a grade B horror movie or an adventure in the twilight zone, but it makes for a very unpromising way of life. Yet, countless Americans are imprisoned, either literally or figuratively, in life-diminishing situations over which they have very little control.

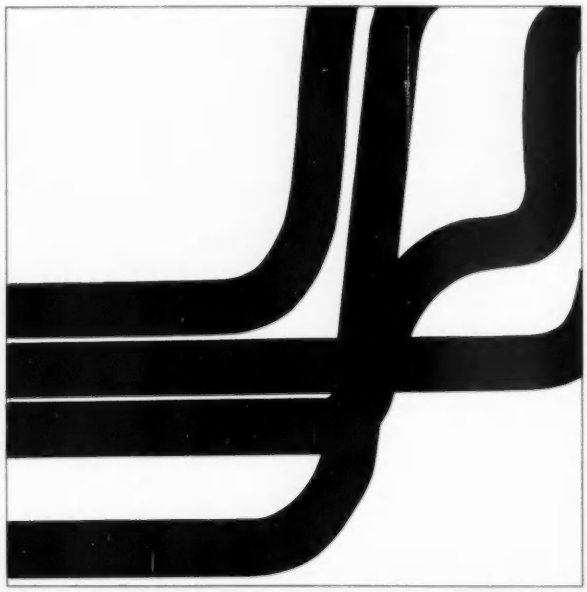
Many unskilled, poorly educated workers, for example, are locked in low-level jobs that offer little economic or personal reward and less chance of moving up. Stranded at the bottom of the job ladder—or, perhaps worse, in jobs where career ladders do not even exist—they suffer not only economic deprivation but feelings of frustration, rage, or soul-deadening resignation.

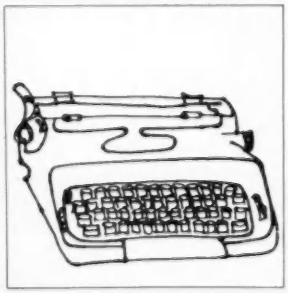
Prisoners are literally locked in. There are legitimate ways out of prison, of course, but the paths are often unmarked. For example, most prisoners are released on parole. Yet, parole requirements, which are seldom described to inmates before their parole hearings, are frequently broad, vague, or arbitrary.

Ex-offenders are trapped, too, in a kind of second-class citizenship. Even though they have paid for their crimes, they are barred from many types of work by unreasonable occupational licensing laws and other job restrictions.

Many low-income youth are also locked in. They need education and training to escape poverty backgrounds but often cannot find the summer jobs that would provide income they need to continue in school.

Several articles in this issue of MANPOWER examine situations which imprison America's disadvantaged and describe keys that may open some new doors. The first article, which begins on page 2, looks at programs to upgrade low-skilled workers.





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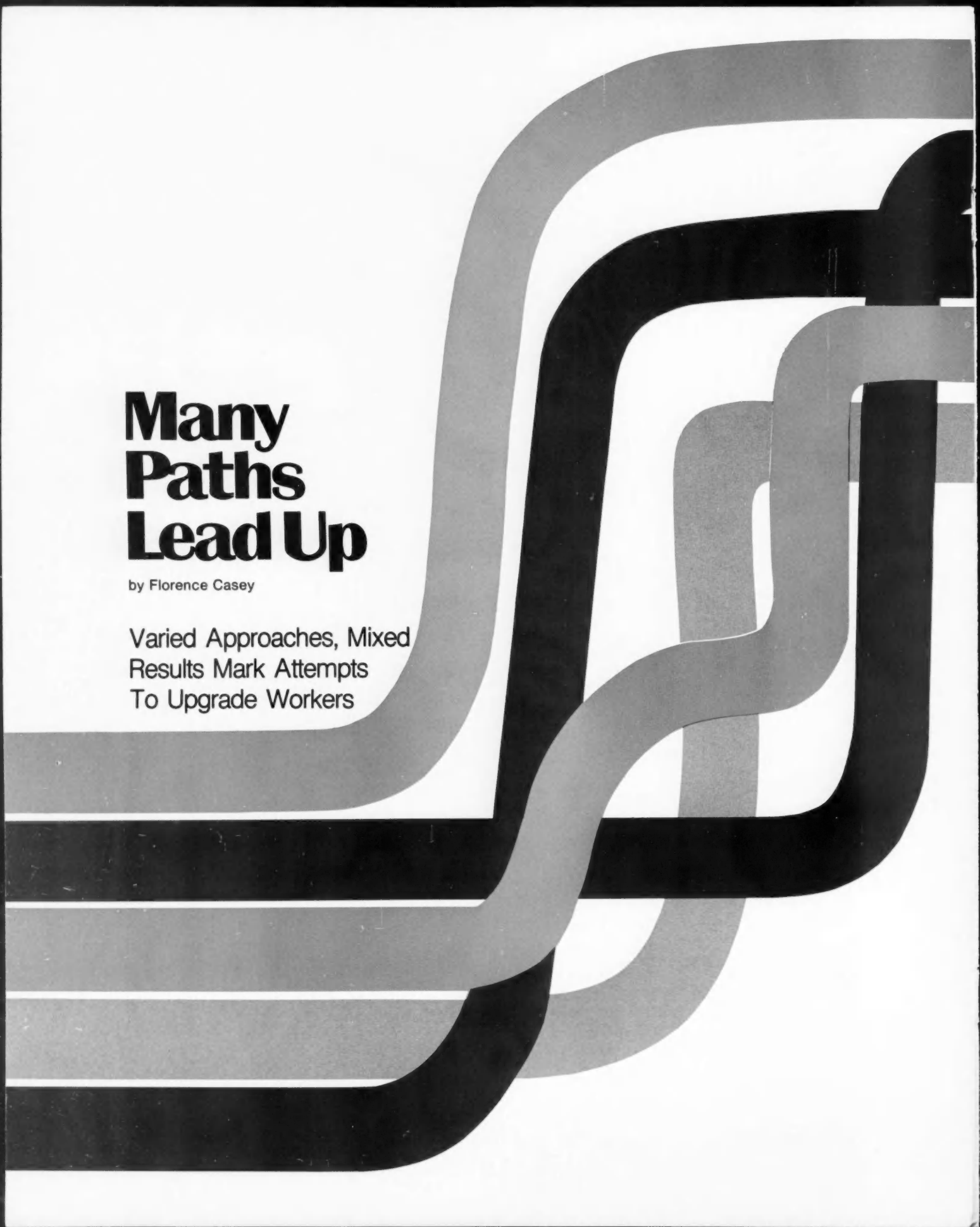
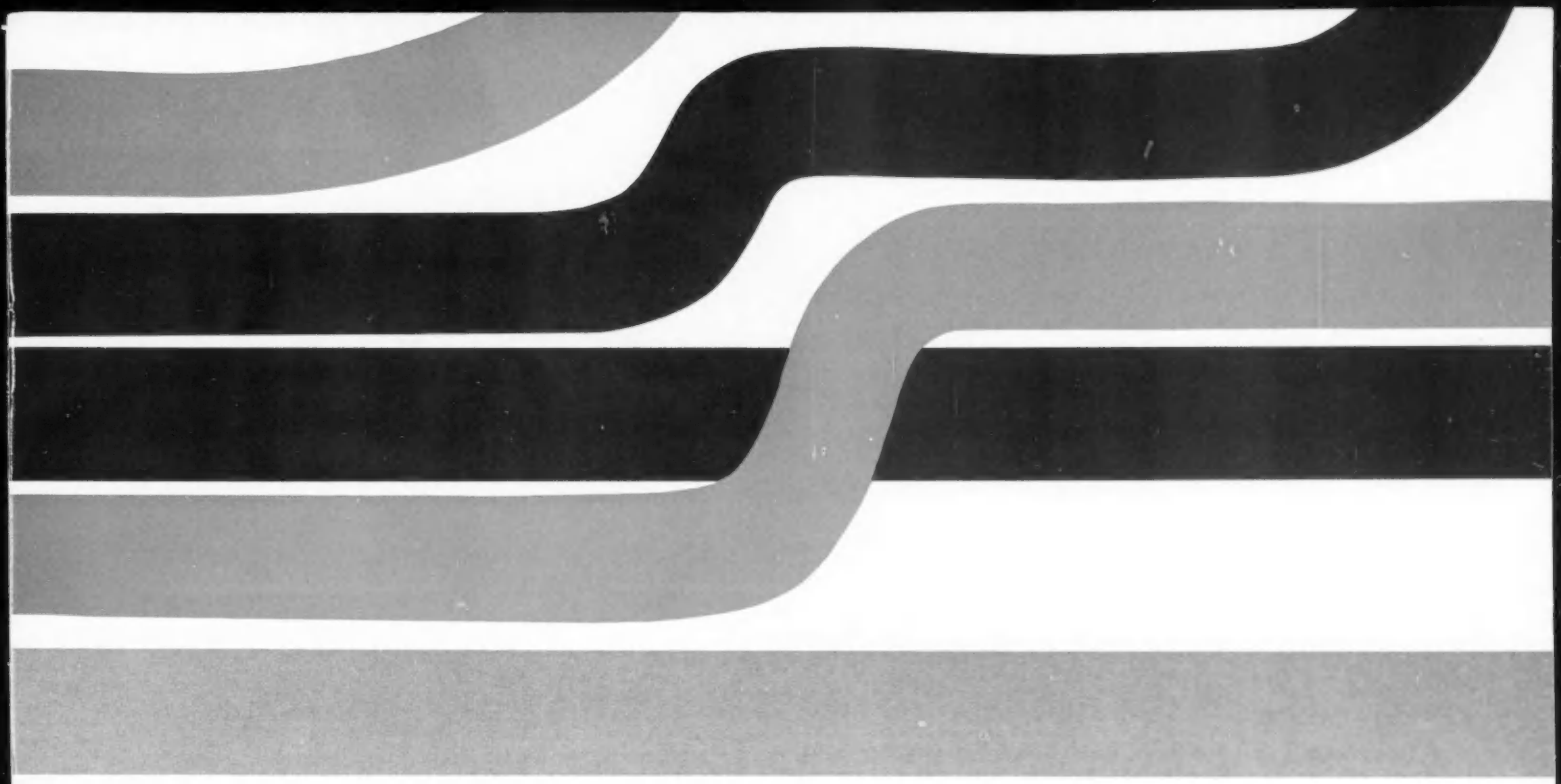


Many Paths Lead Up

by Florence Casey

Varied Approaches, Mixed Results Mark Attempts To Upgrade Workers



The concept of upgrading has been referred to at least once as a "greased watermelon"—large, difficult to grasp, and always capable of producing a scattering of seeds in all directions. In part, this definition stems from recognition of the many ways occupational advancement occurs in different circumstances. For example, workers have been described as "upgraded"

- when they received a single-step promotion, a wage increase, or both;
- when they made a multistep jump in job status, pay, or both, without changing employers;
- when their situation improved through a plant- or company-wide revision of promotion ladders, job definitions, and seniority districts;
- when they improved their job skills or academic credentials and, thereby, their chances of eventual promotion or raise in their own firms or elsewhere;
- when financial incentives or technical services were supplied to employers interested in opening new avenues to advancement for their workers.

The Manpower Administration has funded a great variety of research and demonstration projects that have attempted to accelerate advancement of employed low-wage workers along each of these paths. These upgrading experiments have been staged in both the public and private sectors, in widely differing work environments, and in geographical areas whose social and political characteristics are—to say the least—dissimilar.

Such diversity reflects the fact that the objective of upgrading—upward mobility, with emphasis on equal advancement opportunity for all groups—is sufficiently sweeping to require many paths to achievement.

Because of their simplicity and feasibility, single-step upgrading projects have been most numerous among the research and demonstration projects conducted by contractors under Manpower Administration grants. Such projects attempt to move participating workers up from entry-level positions to jobs one notch higher in status, skill requirements, and pay. Single-step upgrading usually has been conducted in private-sector firms where lower level workers were not originally considered a source of supply for higher level positions. With few exceptions, "single step" has meant "baby step," even though the workers involved were usually gratified to achieve even a small amount of upward mobility.

Smaller Firms Are More Receptive

Single-step upgrading projects have been conducted more often in smaller firms than in larger ones, primarily because larger firms are more likely to provide either formal or informal training for employees in-house and to have a system for moving employees up the job hierarchy as they acquire skills needed at higher levels. Smaller firms, on the other hand, are often unable to train their own employees and seek to fill vacancies in both higher and lower skilled jobs by hiring workers trained elsewhere. Single-step projects set up in large firms were used primarily as a means of meeting special or unexpected skill shortages.

One-step-up efforts generally do not involve restructuring or enlargement of jobs, a feature that makes them more readily accepted by employers and union representatives than research and demonstration projects requiring such changes. No matter how modest the extent of an upgrading project, however, it was necessary to secure formal assent

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Florence Casey is a manpower analyst with the Manpower Administration. This article is taken from her monograph, *Upgrading: Problems and Potentialities, the R&D Experience*. Additional information on the approaches and projects mentioned in the article appears in the monograph, which is available from the Manpower Administration, Division of Research and Development Utilization, Room 9112, 601 D St., NW., Washington, D.C. 20213. (Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 40.)

and a pledge of cooperation from top-ranking union and management officials as soon as possible in order to maximize the project's chances of success.

The majority of employees who entered single-step projects were members of minority groups, and many were disadvantaged. Available evidence suggests that those who completed training tended to be over 25 years old and married and to have some high school education. Dropouts, on the other hand, were more often younger, less likely to have completed the 10th grade, unwilling to sacrifice overtime pay on their present jobs, or, in the case of some women, unable to resolve child-care problems.

Generally, trainees in single-step projects received skill training at the worksite during the workday. In some cases, however, training was offered off the site or after work hours. To the extent that training was conducted away from the job or after hours, dropout rates increased, indicating that onsite training during working hours is by far the most effective arrangement.

In most cases, trainees who completed single-step training did receive promotions and pay increases. However, followup studies of trainees who completed brief, intensive upgrading courses failed to show long-range benefits. One study, for example, established that workers of comparable skill levels who had not participated in an upgrading program had advanced within a year to the same pay and job levels as had the trainees. Nor was there any evidence that projects had helped employees get promotions beyond the one-step increment for which training was offered.

In a number of instances, smaller firms which required worker upgrading to fill a limited number of higher skilled jobs discontinued upgrading projects after they reached this short-term goal. Moreover, companies participating in one-step projects often were hesitant to commit their own resources to a continuing program once public funding was withdrawn. On the other hand, employers were generally receptive to the idea of resuming such projects as needed.

In contrast to the numerous single-step efforts, relatively few research and demonstration projects have been "multistep" attempts to upgrade employees to significantly higher positions within existing or slightly altered promotion systems. Multistep training is likely to be considerably longer and more skill specific than single-step upgrading efforts, and the cost per trainee and the degree of commitment required from both the employer and the employee are correspondingly greater. On the other hand, wage increases resulting from multistep projects are likely to be substantially greater than those for single-step upgrading, so higher training costs should be matched by greater rewards to employees.

Easy Steps or Quantum Jump?

The most extensive multistep experiment attempted to prepare trainees in four companies for new jobs two or three levels above those they occupied at the start of training. The new jobs were to be either skilled or supervisory positions, and were to be arrived at via one of two possible approaches: Upgrading along a sequence of intermediate job levels, or training for a "quantum jump" to the target job without intermediate steps. The project's target was a 30-percent pay increase for each employee.

Ninety-one employees—three-fourths of them male and slightly more than half of them black—enrolled in this project. Their mean age was 35.4. Of those enrolled, 40 completed training by the end of 1971, and of these, 22 received pay increases averaging 17 percent—less than the goal for the project but considerably more than the 7.5 percent average increase earned by trainees in one large single-step effort.

The project indicated that multistep training for a sequence of intermediary jobs was more feasible than the quantum-jump approach, which sometimes demanded more of the trainees than realistically could be expected and involved more sweeping changes in job definition and task assignment than employers generally were pre-

pared to accept or project staff prepared to bring about.

Multistep projects sometimes involved small-scale job restructuring, if only to link job progression lines and to insure the existence of appropriate training tracks leading to the target job. However, such projects did not substantially revamp occupational structures, as have research and demonstration projects which aimed to set up new career progression ladders within existing companies.

Most private-sector job and promotion ladders have developed over time in response to the need to turn out specific products or services using specific equipment and methods. While responding to this need, proprietors and managers often are unable to identify the qualifications really essential to adequate job performance, usually because this is a job task for which they are unqualified. Consequently, many shrug and accept society's most widely held beliefs about who is qualified to do what. The frequent outcome is a "job ladder with missing rungs." Workers recruited for factory or office jobs may be denied access to production or clerical jobs because they lack a high school diploma, while high school graduates in assembly line or clerical jobs are excluded, in turn, from further advancement because of sex, race, or age discrimination, for lack of a college degree, or because higher level jobs are relatively scarce.

Gaps like these exist in almost all promotion ladders at almost all levels, not only as a result of credentialism or discrimination, but also because the production process does not always lend itself to the development of an occupational structure with evenly spaced upward steps. Research and demonstration projects concerned with career progression systems have attempted to fill in missing rungs by unlocking narrowly defined seniority and promotion paths, redesigning jobs, and constructing career tracks that permit lateral as well as upward mobility.

Career progression projects thus challenge a company's hierarchical status quo, and experience has shown that such a challenge can rarely be made solely by those who created the existing system. Outside consultants generally are better equipped to conduct a dispassionate survey of the firm's needs and to devise appropriate ways to meet them. However, employers often are reluctant to accept the conclusions of outside consultants—sometimes because of an understandable concern about production and sometimes because of anxieties concerning loss of management control and the possibility of stimulating expressions of worker discontent. When a new system requires detailed revisions of collective bargaining agreements, job descriptions, or task distribution and seniority districts, unions also are likely to show anxieties and hesitations.

The research and demonstration experience indicates that certain circumstances can help override reluctance to accept new career progression systems. Pressure from equal employment opportunity agencies is one such circumstance. In recent years, Federal and State affirmative action requirements have been increasingly important in paving the way for all types of upgrading projects and for overcoming employer reticence to new career progression systems. Faced with imminent or eventual possibility of court action, employers—however reluctantly—have begun to solicit the services of consultants in devising affirmative action plans, which may include new career progression systems.

Major Changes Bring Flexibility

Acute skill shortages also contribute to managerial and union flexibility, but the most effective spurs of all are large-scale institutional or technological innovations such as the newly built or relocated plant, the periodic reorganizations attempted by almost all bureaucratic institutions, and the restructuring of a firm or an entire industry to accommodate new forms of mechanization. Experiments with career progression systems indicate that their acceptance and implementation are most likely at such times.

Inasmuch as educational deficiencies are often the chief obstacles to worker advancement, some upgrading projects have explored ways to provide adult or remedial education for employed workers as a key prerequisite for occupational advancement.

These have varied considerably in degrees of employer and union involvement, funding mechanisms, and educational techniques employed. Results have been somewhat inconclusive: Although workers have expressed ample interest in improving their academic credentials and while many such projects exist under private and public auspices, it is not yet clear whether any standardized offsite, after-hours

programs would appeal to a sufficient number of workers to justify large-scale efforts. At the same time, remedial educational efforts offered at the worksite often have foundered on ambivalent employer sponsorship or the uncertain outcomes of recently developed remedial techniques in teaching reading and mathematics. Finally, major methodological obstacles have been encountered in trying to trace the correlation between educational advancement and subsequent occupational progress.

The types of projects described thus far—adult education for employed workers, new career progression systems, and multi- and single-step approaches—are "hands-on" attempts to provide upgrade training directly to workers. In many cases, employers are able, or potentially able, to provide such hands-on training without the help of publicly funded projects or the use of outside consultants. For this to occur, however, employers must develop or have access to adequate technical and diagnostic services.

In recent years, increasing recognition of this fact, coupled with the somewhat mixed results of hands-on projects, has stimulated interest in devising ways to deliver "hands-off" services to employers interested in upgrading their work force. Such services might include incentive payments to employers who agree to upgrade designated workers and delivery of technical services to employers who need assistance in developing new career ladders or job-enrichment programs or in making cost-benefit analyses of upgrading efforts.

Demonstration projects featuring the hands-off approach have been relatively recent and few, and it is not yet certain whether adequate delivery systems for such services can be developed and maintained over a period of years. The hands-off strategy is of considerable interest, however, because of the impossibility of providing publicly funded hands-on services in every private sector firm or public agency able to profit from such intervention. A partial answer to this problem may be concentration of the required technical expertise in established local agencies which could assist a broad range of employers.

Experiments with incentive payments to employers for upgrading have encountered a number of problems. For example, some employers were reimbursed for pay increases they would have granted even without an incentive system. Moreover, incentive payments did not have a long-term impact on employers' willingness to upgrade employees; upgrading activity fell off sharply as incentive payments decreased. Moreover, payments were generally too small to encourage employers to invest significant funds of their own in upgrading efforts, and the alternative of increasing incentive payments raises serious questions about the eventual costliness and long-range viability of an incentive approach.

It appears, then, that a more effective way of delivering hands-off services is by providing advisory and consulting services to employers. State and local employment security offices are a logical place to develop such services, but local skills centers, universities, or private contractors may be good alternatives.

The results of individual projects using each of the approaches to upgrading have been mixed. Some have worked, some have not, and it has not always been clear whether specific projects succeeded or failed because of the concept applied, their implementation or administration, problems within individual firms, or other factors. However, some significant conclusions can be made on the basis of overall experimentation.

Economy Affects Upgrading Results

One important finding is that economic developments play a determining role in the success or failure of upgrading projects, especially those undertaken in manufacturing. During economic downturns, relatively few plant managers are interested in offering supplementary training or advancement to their lower wage employees, since skilled workers can be recruited easily from outside the firm. Managers are more likely to show interest in upgrading during economic upswings. On the other hand, recessions do not invariably prevent firms from initiating upgrading efforts. Significantly, firms which conduct upgrade training are often small—between 100 and 500 employees—concentrated in the service-producing sector, and marginal in terms of profitability and productivity. They often are plagued by absenteeism, high turnover, low productivity, or other symptoms of worker discontent.

Yet, research and demonstration projects have not offered hard evidence that these signs of job dissatisfaction can be reduced significantly by establishing training tracks leading to a few higher level jobs. A view of upgrading as a means of raising productivity and lowering costs is likely to be correct only when such training is one of many components in a comprehensive career progression and management system.

On the other hand, there is considerable evidence that upgrading is a valuable means of relieving skill shortages. Institutions facing acute skill shortages, even those which occur in occupations with severe licensing and credentialing requirements, have responded favorably to well planned and administered upgrading experiments. This has been particularly evident in the health services industry, but similar possibilities may exist in such fields as safety engineering and environmental management.

Unfortunately, relatively little is known at present about the periodicity or probable duration of nationwide skill shortages, and these uncertainties make it difficult to gear upgrading efforts to long-range or projected needs. Moreover, in blue-collar occupations, where the rationale for upgrading is often most visible, newly hired or lower level employees easily may learn the tasks needed to fill vacancies without much difficulty, thus raising the question of whether upgrade programs can make much of a dent in this economy-wide process. However, persisting shortages in many licensed occupations indicate that upgrading in these sectors may achieve the double goal of increasing the skilled labor supply while removing or eroding discriminatory credential barriers.

Another finding has been that industries and firms with "flat" occupational structures—a preponderance of relatively low-skill jobs and few opportunities for upward advancement, such as in the food service industry—are especially unwilling to invest in upgrading, since they need fill relatively few highly skilled jobs. Resistance is compounded when an industry or firm is willing to accept rapid turnover of low-wage employees as a less costly alternative to in-house upgrading programs.

Firms and industries with "long" occupational structures which include jobs at high, low, and many intermediate skill levels provide significantly more opportunities for upward mobility. The health services industry, which includes orderlies and aides, highly skilled physician specialists, and many workers in between, offers one example of a long occupational structure. Industries and firms with such arrangements generally have been more willing to establish upgrading programs.

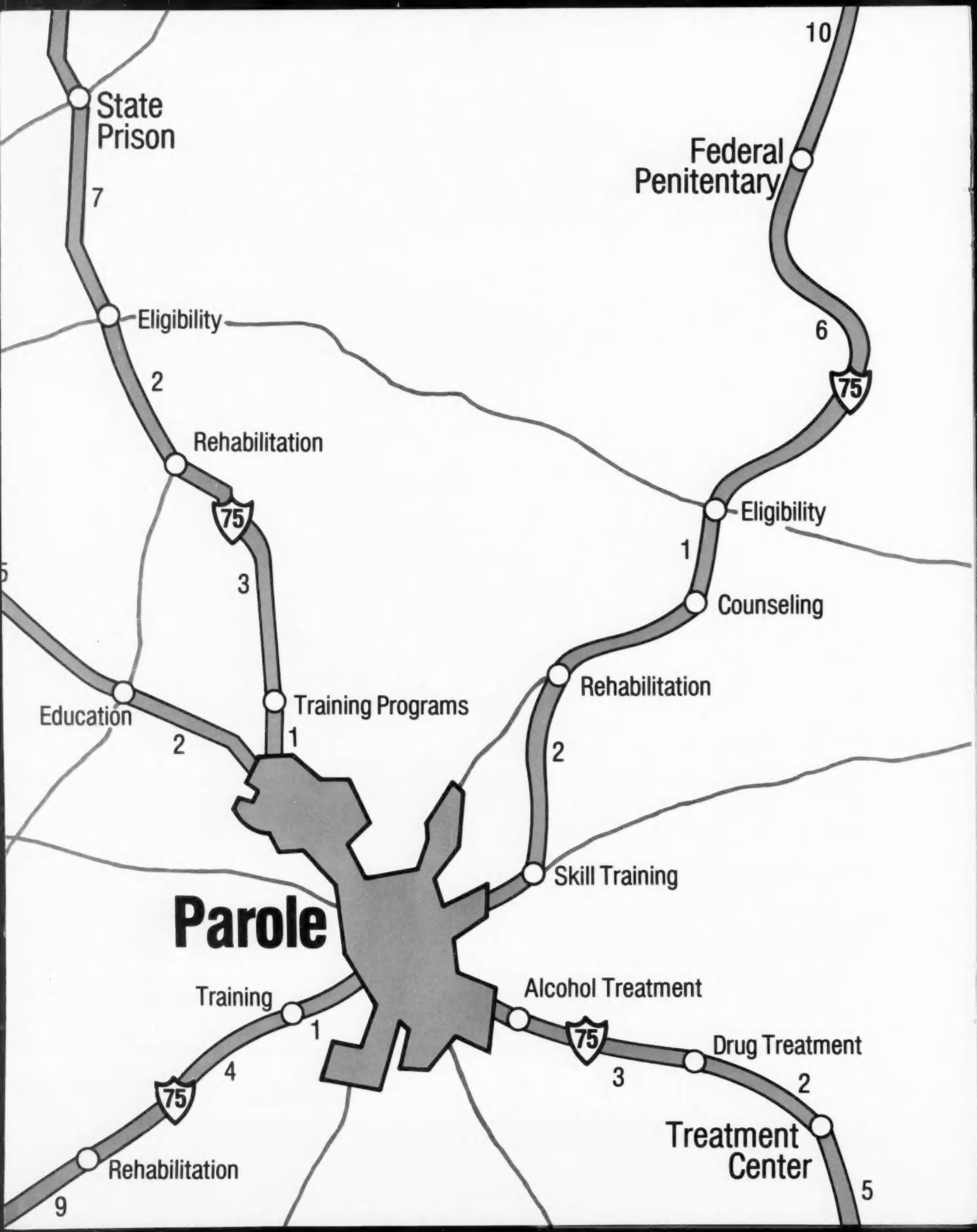
But occupational structure alone does not determine the outcome of upgrading efforts. Widely different results have been produced by similar upgrading approaches in firms with almost identical occupational ladders. In these cases, such variables as management attitudes or the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement may have been more significant than occupational structure. The mixed results emphasize the importance of tailoring all upgrading projects, even the most modest, to the highly specific needs of individual firms.

Research and demonstration projects have generated a considerable body of evidence about the wide range of upgrading tools available to be used as needed in specific situations. Hopefully, this evidence will offer some guidelines for future upgrading efforts which may be undertaken in local programs sponsored under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) in attempts to open more high-level jobs to minority group members, women, and other disadvantaged groups.

Government Resources Can't Match Need

It is clear, however, that the combined resources of Federal, State, and local agencies are manifestly insufficient to supply hands-on services at each worksite where an upgrading system is needed—even if such direct intervention in the private sector were desirable in itself. Continued publicly funded experimentation with upgrading, therefore—while including further exploration of hands-on approaches—may well achieve a more efficient use of resources by developing advisory, diagnostic, and training capability in State, local, and private agencies and by encouraging employers to make use of these services as required, on either a hands-on or hands-off basis.

Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten that the opening of more high-level jobs to minority group members and to women workers is essential to the achievement of the national goal of equal employment opportunity. Since workers' movement into jobs above the entry level depends largely on opportunities within their firms, it is important to measure any gaps and inadequacies in occupational ladders and to identify any barriers to upward movement particularly affecting minority groups and women. Beyond that there is need to determine how these gaps and barriers can be overcome and the upgrading of all groups facilitated on an equal basis. □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MAP to Parole

by Gloria Stevenson

Prisoners in MAP Program Negotiate Parole Contracts

While important to all of us, the concept of time takes on special significance for prisoners. Inmates "do time" or "serve time" or "pull time." They are nicknamed "lifers" or "short-timers" depending on the amount of time they must serve. And most eagerly await their time of release.

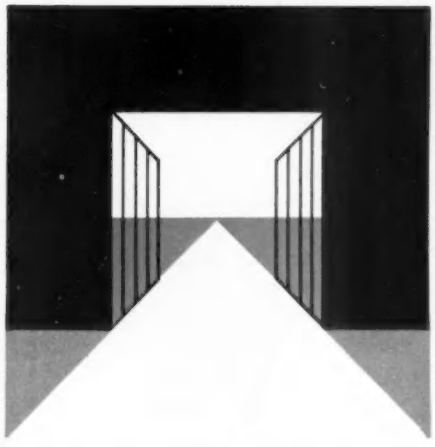
Despite strong interest in the clock and the calendar, however, most prisoners do not know exactly when their time in prison will end. Besides, producing the anxiety of uncertainty, this information gap hinders prisoners' ability to coordinate the end of prison training programs with their release date, line up jobs in advance, and make other plans for adjusting to civilian life.

For the past 3 years, the Manpower Administration has funded an experimental program designed to improve this situation. Called Mutual Agreement Programming (MAP), the program sets prisoners' target release dates well in advance.

MAP was developed in response to a practical problem the Manpower Administration encountered during the 1960's when it began to set up training programs for prison inmates. Prisoners were taught job skills but frequently were not released until several months or more after completing training. During this time lag, they lost some of their skills as well as some enthusiasm about working.

Moreover, the Manpower Administration discovered that placing prisoners in jobs, a difficult task at best, was hampered because prisoners rarely got more than 2 months' notice—and sometimes only a few days—before being released. This provided precious little time to line up jobs with employers who wanted to know precisely when an applicant could report to work.

The uncertainty about release dates was closely tied to standard parole procedures. The majority of prisoners who return to civilian life are released on parole, a status in which they must report regularly to parole authorities and abide by certain rules for behavior. Typically, prisoners do not know in advance when they will be paroled. They may know when they will be *eligible* for parole, but parole board hearings at which release decisions actually are made may not be held until



weeks or months after the eligibility date.

Furthermore, even model prisoners cannot count on being paroled when eligible because parole criteria are often very hazy. Some States have no written standards for parole, and others have laws which are broad and vague, usually requiring employment and the parole board's belief that the parolee will not be a detriment to himself or to society. As a result, parole board members sometimes may grant or deny parole on whatever grounds they select. Parole criteria may thus vary from prisoner to prisoner, and inmates do not know in advance what the standards for parole are. The State MAP coordinator for Maryland illustrates by saying, "A parole board can say, in effect, 'It's really great that you've completed your manpower training program, but now we want you to go into drug therapy for another 6 months and then we'll see.' "

MAP, developed and conducted on an experimental basis by the American Correctional Association with Manpower Administration funding, attempts to eliminate such uncertainties about parole by developing for each participating prisoner a written contract that spells out exactly what the individual must do in order to be paroled and the precise date when parole will be granted if the prisoner lives up to the terms of the document. Program planners theorized that this arrangement would enhance employability and perhaps reduce recidivism by enabling prisoners to coordinate the end of manpower training programs with their release dates and giving them more time to line up work and make other plans for adjusting to civilian life.

MAP experiments were set up at several institutions for men in Wisconsin, Arizona, and California in 1972 and 1973. While each State adopted some variations, basic program format was the same in all locations.

In each State, a MAP coordinator worked with prison and parole officials to determine which prisoners would be eligible for the program. Eligible inmates were told about MAP and offered the opportunity to participate.

The MAP coordinator then asked each participating inmate to develop a written plan outlining specific treatment and rehabilitation processes for himself in such areas as education, skill training, treatment for drug or alcohol abuse,

Gloria Stevenson is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

Willie Westmoreland, an inmate at a Baltimore halfway house, negotiates a MAP contract. Clockwise from left at the bargaining table are Westmoreland, State MAP coordinator Steve Minnich, and Maryland Parole Board members James Thomas and Isaiah Larkin. Westmoreland's MAP agreement requires him to get a job by a specific date, attend drug counseling sessions regularly, and abide by the rules of the halfway house. The contract also sets his parole date.

MAP

discipline, and prison work assignments. For example, a prisoner might develop a plan to complete a training course in basic welding by a specific date, participate regularly in meetings of Alcoholics Anonymous, meet with a prison counselor for a minimum of 10 hours, comply with the prison's rules of conduct and commit no serious disciplinary infractions, and report for prison work assignments regularly. The prisoner also was asked to select the specific date on which he wanted to be paroled if he reached all his MAP goals.

Negotiators Sign Contracts

The MAP coordinator met with each prisoner to review the plan and suggest any adjustments he believed necessary to make specific goals more realistic in terms of the training resources available, the prisoner's past behavior and achievements, or the likelihood that corrections officials would approve the plan. However, the prisoner was given the final say in determining the contract criteria and release date.

After the prisoner and MAP coordinator had discussed the plan, they met formally with a representative of the prison and a representative of the parole board. With the program coordinator sometimes acting as the inmate's spokesman or advocate, parties to this meeting tried to negotiate mutually agreeable terms for parole.

After reaching agreement, each negotiator signed the MAP contract, or "agreement" as it is called in some States. The contracts, considered legally binding but subject to State law and court tests, included the provisions that the contract would be canceled if the prisoner failed to live up to its terms and that the contract could be renegotiated at the inmate's or MAP coordinator's request, or if parole authorities gained new information about the case. In situations where the negotiators could not reach agreement about contract terms, the prisoner returned to the general inmate population with the assurance that the MAP experience would not be held against him.

MAP experiments in all three States were completed by the end of 1973. In Wisconsin, where 150 prisoners were eligible for the program, 87 negotiated contracts and 68 completed contract requirements and were paroled on the date specified. In Arizona, 80 of 130 eligible prisoners negotiated contracts and 76 completed them on schedule. In California, where 45 men were eligible, the record was 25 contracts and 16 completions.

James Robison, research director for the American Correctional Association, has gathered followup data indicating that prisoners who did not complete their MAP contracts generally violated rules of discipline rather than failing to satisfy some training or treatment term of the contract.

Many corrections officials regard the MAP program as impressive on several counts. Some hail it for what the American Correctional Association calls its "humanizing impact on correctional staff and inmates." The MAP innovation of allowing prisoners a voice in determining their own rehabilitation needs is regarded as one step toward making corrections more humane. As MAP director Leon Leiberg explains, "We've rejected the prescription model, the model that says 'I, the keeper, know what is best for you, the kept.' Instead, we're saying that prisoners aren't any worse morally than anyone else, that they know what their needs are, and that they should have some say in their own treatment."

Another "humanizing" benefit, according to program advocates, is that the program enables prisoners to know exactly what they must do to earn parole and exactly when parole will come if they live up to the agreement. The MAP coordinator for Maryland, where the program has recently been adopted, says, "Inmates don't go through the anxiety of not knowing whether whatever they're doing will really result in parole. Prisoners know exactly when they'll be released if they live up to the contract terms, and they can tell their friends and families, 'I'll be home March fifth.' "

Labor Dept. photos
by Harrison Allen

Increased accountability on the part of corrections officials and increased responsibility on the part of prisoners are viewed as other MAP benefits. Speaking at a 1974 workshop on corrections and parole administration, Ronald Scott, a professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, said, "In MAP, treatment responsibilities are clearly designated, and accountability can be assessed; and neither the worker [the corrections system] nor the client [the prisoner] is left with unachievable responsibilities." The legally binding contract gives corrections workers clear responsibility for providing treatment resources and paroling the prisoner on the date agreed upon, provided he fulfills contract terms while it makes the prisoner clearly responsible for meeting the goals outlined in the agreement.

The program's success in forging new working relationships within the corrections field is also being applauded. An American Correctional Association publication states, "Although the various criminal justice agencies are sometimes called the 'criminal justice system,' there has been little if any coordination and communication among them, particularly between institutional and parole authorities." By demanding that prison and parole personnel negotiate MAP contracts with prisoners, MAP opens new lines of communications among corrections personnel and between them and inmates as well.

Proponents also believe that MAP may help cut prison costs and overcrowding by reducing the length of prison sentences. Most inmates who have completed MAP contracts have been paroled slightly before the time when they would have been eligible under traditional processes. In Wisconsin, for example, completers were paroled, on the average, a month before their eligibility dates.

States Adopt MAP

By the end of 1974, such considerations had prompted Maryland and Wisconsin to set up their own MAP programs based on the experimental design, and the District of Columbia, Alabama, Colorado, Florida, Maine, Massachusetts, New York, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia were planning similar programs. Michigan, which began MAP experiments in 1972 without Manpower Administration support, also had set up a statewide operational program.

Manpower Administration funding for MAP experiments, which totaled nearly $600,000, ended in March, and new programs are being financed by the States and by the U.S. Department of Justice's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, which had allocated over $800,000 for MAP by the end of 1974.

Some States which have adopted MAP are attempting to reap better job prospects for prisoners as well as other benefits from the program. Research done by James Robison indicates that prisoners who participated in the initial

Baltimore halfway house inmate Charles Keating holds a MAP contract specifying that he must complete a training program in welding. He attends classes at a local CETA-funded training center. If he fulfills the terms of his contract, Keating, who was sentenced to 8 years for armed robbery, will be paroled after serving slightly more than 3 years.

MAP

MAP experiments and were paroled on schedule did not fare any better in the work world than a control group of fellow inmates who were eligible for the program but did not take part. Robison found no significant differences in the proportion of each group who were working full time 1, 3, or 6 months after release. Nor were there significant differences in earnings after 6 months.

Deficiencies in the manpower services available to prisoners may have contributed to the lack of employment payoffs in MAP experiments in Arizona and Wisconsin. In Arizona, for example, MAP experimentation took place at a prison housing almost 1,400 inmates. However, only 98 training slots and 75 classroom seats were available there to serve both MAP participants and other inmates. While the MAP experiment was going on, a neighboring institution started five new vocational programs open to MAP participants as well as other prisoners, but the number of slots in these programs was also very small.

Arizona has abandoned MAP, but Edward Aiken, chief of the State's parole division, says, "In theory, it's a fine concept. Conceptually, I endorse the whole idea. But it has to be administered well, and you have to have the facilities to offer the supportive services needed before it can work. A big hangup here was that our resources—basic education, skill training, counseling—were limited in both quality and quantity."

Wisconsin MAP Coordinator Gerald Mills cites training program inadequacies in his State as well. He notes that the number of training slots falls short of prisoners' needs and adds, "We have one or two vocational programs where very few students end up in jobs. In some cases, training is for fields which are very competitive and nonoffenders tend to be hired over prisoners. Sometimes, as in bricklaying, the unions won't let prisoners in. They claim they don't exclude prisoners, of course, but we say, 'Well, then, why aren't there any ex-offenders in your union?' "

Vouchers for Training

Mills also criticizes standard methods of training prisoners. "Training programs are generally designed along the same lines as school programs within the community, but most of our clients don't have the self-control, motivation, or reading, writing, and arithmetic skills they need to keep up with that kind of approach. We need to continue to move in the direction of individualized instruction."

Administrators of the California MAP experiment aimed to broaden the range of training opportunities available to prisoners by experimenting with a voucher system which gave prisoners "credit" to buy training and education of their choice within the community. The California program was limited to halfway house residents who were each allowed from $500 to $1,000 for training. Participants also received a $55 monthly stipend to cover transportation and incidental expenses. Using the voucher system, prisoners enrolled in training for a wide variety of occupations, including mobile home salesworker, diver, helicopter pilot, computer programer, cabinetmaker, auto repairer, machinist, cosmetologist, vending machine repairer, and taxidermist.

Use of the voucher system broadened considerably the scope of training opportunities available to MAP contract holders. According to researcher James Robison, 9 of the 16 Californians completing their contracts were working full time 6 months after the program ended, most of them in jobs related to their training. Robison points out, however, that not all the marketable skills parolees possessed after release can be attributed to the few months of training they received through MAP. Training periods were short because administrative and budget delays cut operating time for the California project from the 18 months scheduled down to 10 months.

Maryland, where contract negotiations for an ongoing MAP program began in September 1974, is planning to use a voucher system similar to that

explored in California for some MAP participants. The Maryland MAP program is limited to men in community corrections centers—essentially halfway houses—and to women inmates subject to parole consideration. Halfway house residents, who are men within 10 months of their next parole hearing dates, will be able to make use of public training programs within the community, while women MAP participants from Maryland institutions will get vouchers to purchase private training when suitable public programs are not available. The voucher arrangement, being funded through a $180,000 grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, is the first experiment in providing training vouchers for women.

The Maryland program will also draw on community resources such as State employment service offices and local social rehabilitation agencies for help in placing prisoners in jobs.

Steve Minnich, State MAP coordinator, believes that the program modifications established in Maryland will boost MAP participants' chances of finding jobs while on parole. Maryland prisoners are assigned to community corrections centers in their home communities, and Minnich is especially hopeful that this will help MAP participants gain access to jobs and training in the areas where they are likely to live after being paroled. "It's not the same as being in a prison far away from home," Minnich says, emphasizing that halfway house residents do not need to leave training programs or jobs near a prison to relocate to their home communities after release.

In Wisconsin, too, improvements in manpower services are being made in conjunction with MAP. When the experimental MAP program was in effect, a separate but related program called Intensive Employment Placement, which was coordinated by the State employment service, was available to MAP participants 60 days before their release. This program was set up to provide special employment services for inmates, including prerelease training in jobhunting and prerelease employment interviews. Since MAP has been adopted statewide, the name of the employment assistance program has been changed to Project Hope and has evolved, according to State MAP Coordinator Gerald Mills, into a more comprehensive and better coordinated system.

New Prisoners Are Tested

Through Project Hope, representatives from the Wisconsin Employment Security Division now offer each newly admitted prisoner vocational, intelligence, and interest testing, as well as counseling and assessment of individual needs for education and training. This information, which was not available during the experimental phase of the program, is given to MAP coordinators who use it in helping prisoners develop plans for the MAP contract.

Average length of MAP contracts is also likely to be extended in Wisconsin's ongoing program. During the experimental phase, the duration of Wisconsin MAP contracts averaged 5½ months, relatively little time to learn job skills or basic academic subjects. Contracts were relatively brief because of program time limits. Now, with no such time limits and with participation open to prisoners within 2 years of their mandatory release dates, longer MAP contracts are possible.

Mills also says he hopes to use the ongoing MAP program as a vehicle for doing research and collecting data about the employment experiences of contract holders in order to check on the usefulness and effectiveness of prison training programs and placement services. Such data also may shed some light on the employment obstacles ex-offenders face. For example, says Mills, "We may be able to use MAP as a stimulus for collecting data that can help us verify that former prisoners don't get union jobs."

In evaluating the results of MAP experiments, researcher James Robison argues that "enhanced employment or reduced recidivism are the wrong objectives to set for Mutual Agreement Programming." He points out that "the essence of MAP programming concerns not so much the availability of enhanced program resources as it does the nature of the formal relationship between the prisoner and whatever resources happen to be currently available."

Program personnel in some States appear to disagree. Believing that increased employability is, indeed, an objective worth striving for through MAP, they are attempting to improve manpower services for prisoners in hopes that with such improvements, MAP may yet help inmates find their way not only out of prison, but into decent jobs as well. □

News & Notes

John T. Dunlop was sworn in as the 14th Secretary of Labor at a White House ceremony on March 18. A member of the Harvard University economics faculty since 1938, he was chairman of the economics department there from 1961 to 1966 and dean of the arts and sciences faculty from 1970 to 1973. The new Secretary, 60, has had a lengthy working relationship with the Department of Labor. For the past 30 years, he has served on numerous bodies set up to resolve labor-management disputes. He was chairman of the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee from 1971 to 1973 and director of the Cost of Living Council in 1973 and 1974. Since 1974, Secretary Dunlop has been coordinator of th President's Labor-Management Committee, a post he will continue to hold.

* * *

The Manpower Administration has appointed to each of its 10 regional offices program monitors who will act as advocates for farmworkers. These officials will monitor activities of the State employment services to insure that they provide a full range of manpower services—counseling, testing, job referral, and support services—to migrant and seasonal farmworkers.

* * *

American workers who have lost their jobs because of import competition will get expanded adjustment assistance under a new Trade Act signed into law in January. Effective April 3, the new law provides that eligible workers may receive cash readjustment allowances amounting to 70 percent of their average weekly wage (but not more than the national average in manufacturing) for up to 52 weeks. The law provides additional assistance for workers aged 60 and older, those who need training and other manpower services, and those who cannot find jobs in their own commuting areas. Workers who believe they have been or will be injured by increased imports may petition the Secretary of Labor for certification of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance.

* * *

A recent issue of The Canada Manpower Review, published quarterly by Canada's Department of Manpower and Immigration, reports on the country's Local Initiative Program (LIP). The program, in its emphasis on decentralization, parallels the U.S. Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA). LIP workers have a stronger commitment to the labor force after learning the project than they did before entering: Almost all the male "graduates," and 80 percent of the female graduates, were in the labor force a year after their LIP employment. Final approval for each LIP project is made at the Federal level, but every provincial or municipal government concerned is consulted in the process.

* * *

Layoffs in construction and tourism, Florida's largest industries, are boosting the ranks of workers willing to take low-paying jobs as fruit pickers, according to an article in the New York Times. The report says Florida needs 26,000 fruit pickers each year and quotes a citrus industry official who says the entire crop will be picked this year "for the first time in a long time."

* * *

Major collective bargaining agreements reached during 1974 provided for substantially bigger wage adjustments than those signed in 1972 or 1973, according to preliminary figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Contracts negotiated in 1974 called for average wage-rate increases of 9.8 percent the first year and 7.3 percent annually over the life of the agreement, not counting possible gains under "cost-of-living" escalator clauses. The number of workers covered by such clauses increased more in 1974 than in any year since 1971.

* * *

About 5,900 strikes began in 1974, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports, the highest number for any year on record. Some 2.7 million workers—half a million more than in 1973—participated in these stoppages. Time lost because of strikes averaged 2.4 days per thousand, well above the levels for 1972 and 1973 but less than in 1970 and 1971. The Bureau says strike activity was up because unions held out for substantial wage increases in efforts to catch up with rising prices and because 1974 was a heavy year for collective bargaining.

"I've Been There Too"

by B. Kimball Baker

Ex-Offender Toni Rice Works as Correctional Officer

When Toni Rice was 17, she left her house one day to take some clothes to the cleaners. It was like any of her previous trips there, except for one thing—she didn't go home.

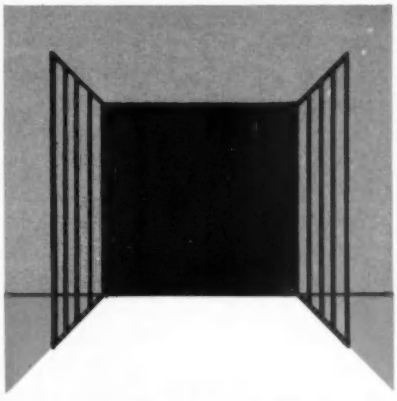
Toni ran away. She ran away from a family situation compounded of dire poverty, separated parents, and a mother who had to work two jobs to support a son and a daughter and thus had little time to spend with them. She ran from Texas to California, and fell into a lifestyle which featured hard drugs, brushes with the law, and escapades in the subculture she now calls "slick."

"I managed to stay out of jail until I was 38," she says, "but then my luck ran out."

Toni was convicted for possession of heroin and sentenced to be confined to the California Institution for Women (CIW) at Frontera, where she spent the next 6½ years. During most of that time, she was bitter, frustrated, and determined to take her hostility out on society for putting her away.

Today, Toni Rice is a correctional officer at Villa del Sol, not far from the site of her confinement. Villa is a San Diego County facility for female offenders which combines custody with counseling its residents and helping them train for and find jobs. There is now hope for Toni where there once was bitterness, challenge where there once was frustration.

"The change within me did not happen overnight," she says. "During vocational rehabilitation toward the end of and after my confinement, I gradually came to the realization that bitterness against society would get me nowhere, that I would have to come to terms with myself before I could come to terms with those around me. As Dr. Vern Dreiser, the CIW psychologist who helped me to understand this, kept telling me: 'You have to crawl before you can walk.' "



After Toni's release in 1970, she worked briefly as a PBX operator. However, she wanted a career that would give her a deeper sense of fulfillment; so she worked for and received a 2-year degree from Southwestern Junior College in Chula Vista, Calif., and took training to be a correctional officer from the New Careers Program of the U.S. Department of Labor. In a State board exam for potential correctional officers, she placed second out of approximately 500 persons tested, many of whom had had 4 or more years of higher education. She is currently working on a B.A. in psychology at San Diego State College.

"I'm thankful to New Careers for giving me a chance to start a promising career," Toni says. "It reinforced the things I wanted to do with myself."

Toni Rice today is doing a lot of things with herself—and a lot of things with others. She is using the lessons her life has taught her to help those who are in troubles similar to those which she experienced.

"I've been there too" is the way she puts it.

All this is far from saying that everything is now rosy for Toni. The offenders she counsels are not always able to turn themselves around, and when they can't, she grieves for them. But in her line of work, success and failure are not easy to measure.

"If a person stays out of jail longer than the last time," Toni says, "that's success."

The residents of Villa del Sol are given every chance to make it. Villa is a large house in a handsomely landscaped setting. It has several

B. Kimball Baker is assistant editor of MANPOWER.

"I've Been There Too"

Toni spends much of her time counseling Villa del Sol residents.

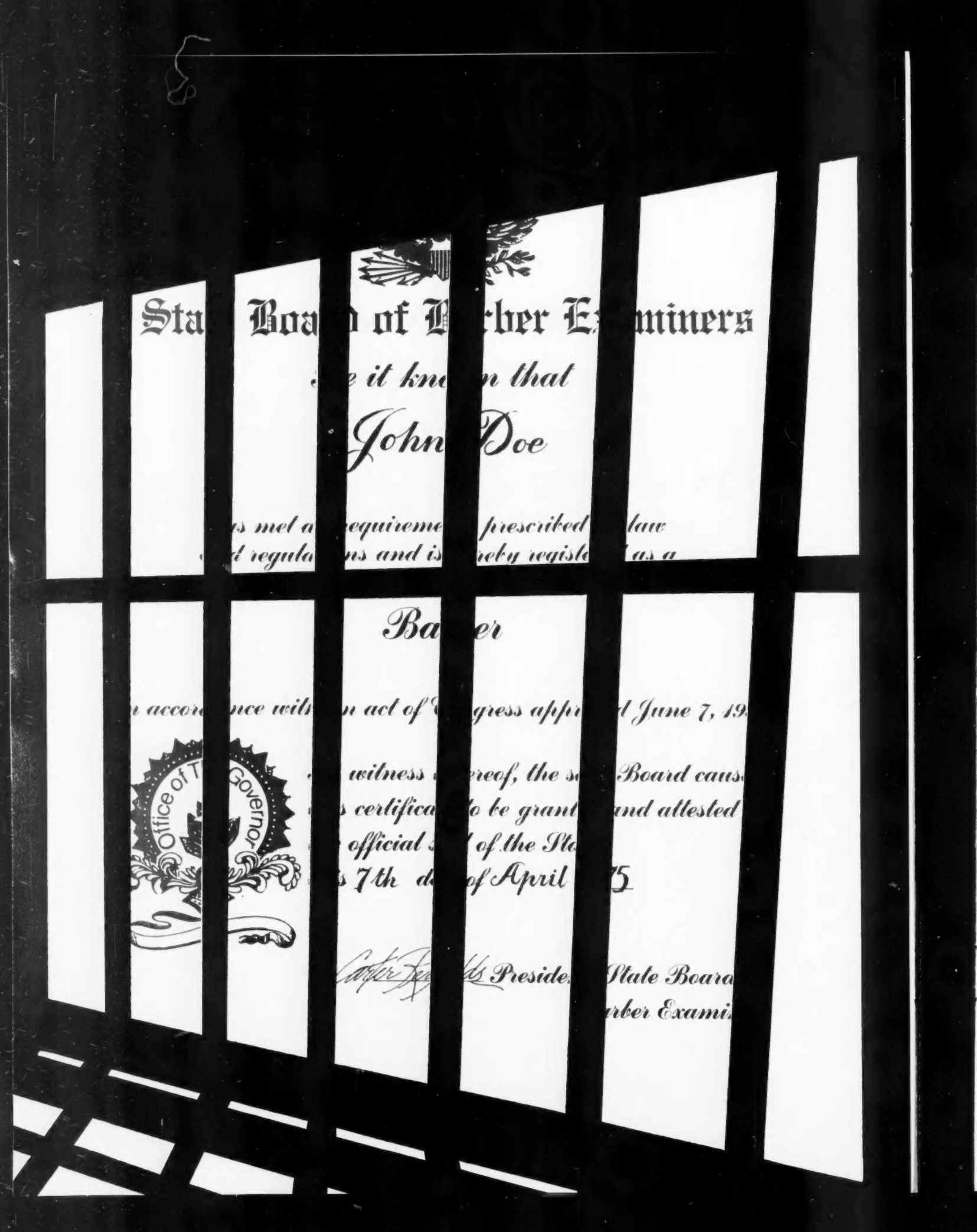
Villa del Sol has three levels, including the basement. Sleeping quarters are upstairs.

dozen inhabitants at any one time, whose stays range from 3 months to a year, and most of whom are between 18 and 25. The residents start out by just doing chores around the facility, and move on to a vocational-training or job-search program. During training, they receive stipends; and when they have found a job, they work away from Villa during the day and return at night, and are charged a small fee for room and board.

"I feel that I'm making several contributions to society through my new career," Toni says. "For one thing, I'm proving that ex-offenders can reorient themselves; for another, that they can work effectively in correctional facilities; and for a third, that for many offenders, incarceration is not the answer. I think correctional institutions will hire them in the future. They can be an asset.

"But most of all, I want to help those whom I work with to get in touch with themselves. About 3 months ago, one of my former counselees stopped by the Villa. She is a young woman 21 years of age who had always wanted to be a nurse. She enthusiastically told me that she was taking nurse's training. 'I'm going to be a nurse, Toni,' she said—and she will be, too. She became aware of how to feel OK with herself, what her needs are, and how to get them met.

"That's what it's all about." □



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Removing the Ex-Offenders' Catch-22

by Timothy Larkin

New Organization Tries to Topple Job Barriers for Ex-Offenders

In a comic novel that has become a modern-day classic, Joseph Heller put in clear perspective an absurd regulation dubbed Catch-22. Heller's Catch-22 specified that able-bodied bombardiers from the "fighting 256th Squadron" could be released from duty only if they were insane. But anyone who asked to be grounded because of insanity was assumed to be using the rule to get out of a highly dangerous situation. And since concern for one's safety in the face of real and immediate danger was considered rational, the crewman was automatically judged sane and required to fly more missions.

"That's some catch, that Catch-22," Yossarian observes in the novel.

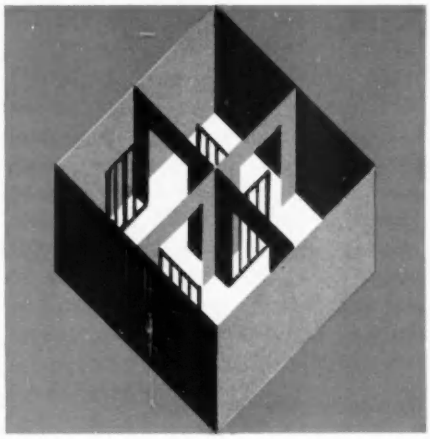
"It's the best there is," another character agrees.

Of course, you don't have to be a bombardier to understand the almost mathematical elegance of a Catch-22. For years, ex-offenders have found themselves imprisoned in a Catch-22 of their own.

Jess Alcala learned to recognize Catch-22 after he had been imprisoned for killing his wife. A barber and barbershop owner for 20 years, he resumed in Wyoming State Prison the quiet steadiness that had marked his life before that deviant act of violence. He became what the warden considered a model prisoner—a successfully "corrected" product of the corrections system, one who was clearly ready for work release: the practice of permitting selected, low-risk inmates to work for pay outside a prison, returning each night. Unlike many of his fellow inmates, Mr. Alcala possessed a skill, barbering. However, to return to work as a barber, he would also have to regain his barbering license. But the State of Wyoming denied barbering licenses to those convicted of *any* felony, and hence, without a chance to work, Alcala couldn't be released.

Wyoming is not the only jurisdiction to deny barbering licenses to ex-offenders, nor is barbering the only occupation off limits. Licensing requirements, which are established by the States under the general police power constitutionally reserved to them, bar persons with criminal records from a wide variety of trades, occupations, and professions.

In many jurisdictions, individuals need not even have been convicted of a



crime in order to be ineligible for occupational licenses; they need merely to have been *arrested*.

Since only a small proportion of arrests result in conviction and an even smaller proportion in felony conviction, why then use an arrest record—which does not reflect disposition of the charge—as a basis for denying a license? Such records are employed for one basic reason: It is simple to find out about an arrest (the FBI has 58 million fingerprints on persons arrested), far more difficult to trace the disposition of the charge.

As a result, employer decisions of vital importance to an individual applicant often are based on irrelevant and often totally misleading information simply because, like Mt. Everest, it happens to be there.

Ex-offenders are barred from jobs other than those which require licenses. Research sponsored by the Manpower Administration has shown that many positions in State and local government agencies are closed to persons with criminal records (MANPOWER, December 1971).

Insidious frustrations result from denying offenders entry into so many occupations. Prisoners seeking a parole or work release generally must have offers of jobs that meet certain standards, standards that would be met by the licensed occupations, but which often cannot be met by jobs that do not require such licenses. According to Mel Rivers, former president of a New York City organization that tries to help the ex-offender, ". . . the days get long and tense when you know you could be out but you gotta get a job. I had three job offers—a dishwasher, a porter, and a job with the Muslim Mosque. They (the parole board) turned them all down. I know guys who 'maxed out' (completed their maximum sentence) waiting for a response."

This situation holds another catch that hinders prisoners' ability to get suitable job offers. Prisoners are released before completing the full sentence if they *have* a job, not to *find* one. Hence, a prisoner who has a job doesn't need to find one to gain release. On the other hand, a prisoner who doesn't have the kind of job needed to gain release can't be released to find one through employment offices or direct employer contacts.

The potential impact of employment

Timothy Larkin is a contributing editor of MANPOWER.

'It is clearly in society's as well as in the ex-offender's interest to eliminate needless restrictions that limit the ex-offender's ability to earn a decent income, contribute to society, and stay out of prison.'

Catch-22

restrictions is enormous. Ten million arrests are made annually in this country, as many as the combined populations of New Orleans, New York City, Providence, San Francisco, and St. Louis. A fourth of the population holds some kind of nontraffic arrest record, and some 1.8 million persons are within the corrections system on any given day.

Licensing restrictions doubtless contribute to unemployment among ex-offenders, whose joblessness rate far exceeds that of other persons in the labor market. Unemployment, in turn, is correlated with recidivism; research indicates that the unemployed or underemployed parollee is four times less likely to succeed at parole than his or her fully employed counterpart.

It is clearly in society's as well as in the ex-offender's interest to eliminate needless restrictions that limit the ex-offender's ability to earn a decent income, contribute to society, and stay out of prison. Direct costs for a prisoner in the Federal corrections system total over $6,500 a year, and indirect costs—counting expenses such as welfare to family members but not loss in productivity or foregone income tax payments—add another $4,000 a year.

Armed with these kinds of facts, the Manpower Administration contracted in 1971 with the American Bar Association (ABA) to set up the National Clearinghouse on Offender Employment Restrictions. The Clearinghouse was formed by the ABA's section on criminal justice and its Commission on Correctional Facilities and Services. Directed by James W. Hunt, the organization seeks answers to two basic questions:

What exactly are the laws, practices, and procedures that bar jobs to ex-offenders? And, will such barriers be removed if interested persons and groups are provided ideas about how unreasonable restrictions can be modified or removed?

The Clearinghouse began by conducting a survey to determine the scope of State legislative codes affecting the licensing of an ex-offender. The results are impressive. The survey revealed the existence of 1,948 statutory provisions affecting over 300 occupations. In addition to barbering, these cover such diverse jobs as abstractor, aircraft pilot, alcoholic beverage employee, amusement operator, apprentice, auctioneer, beautician, bingo operator, building inspector, burial association agent, chiropractor, dental hygienist, disposal plant operator, exterminator, fishing boat operator, florist, fur breeder, game warden, hunting and fishing guide, hearing aid fitter, inhalation therapist, junk dealer, manicurist, marine diver, mortician, motor vehicle operator, nurse, opthalmic dispenser, peddler, photographer, plumber, practical nurse, public weigher, roentgenologist, sanitarian, social worker, stevedore, tatto artist, taxidermist, taxidriver, television repairer, tree surgeon, and well driller.

Reasons Are Obscure

The reasons for many licensing restrictions are obscure. The survey found, for example, a Washington State law limiting issuance of a license to collect wild birds' nests and eggs. An Indiana law required livestock dealers to be of good moral character, and Florida imposed the same requirement on its astrologers. While Washington, Indiana, and Florida have recently eliminated the good moral character requirement for licensing these trades, hundreds of other barriers still remain, such as Kentucky's requirement of good moral character for septic tank cleaners, and Wisconsin's similar rule governing limburger cheesemakers. The irrational nature of many of these restrictions is brought into sharp focus by the fact that only one State, New York, bars ex-offenders from opening a gun store.

The occupations affected by licensing restrictions are concentrated in the service industries and government, two areas of the economy which are growing at a faster-than-average rate. One service occupation, barbering, employed 130,000 persons in 1974 and is the source of a special brand of frustration even more pronounced than that encountered by Jess Alcala: Many correctional institutions offer supervised training in barbering for inmates, but 45 jurisdictions restrict the licensing of ex-offenders as barbers.

After tallying the State legislative codes affecting the licensing of an ex-offender, the Clearinghouse analyzed the methods used to deny employment. This analysis showed that employment prohibitions generally take one of three forms:

- They specifically refer to criminal offenses, using language such as "conviction of a felony";
- They require "good moral character";
- They deny a license because of offenses involving "moral turpitude."

The vague nature of the two latter requirements creates special difficulties for ex-offenders. The nature of good moral character has been debated by philosophers since before Plato and has yet to gain definitive agreement, but many courts and licensing agencies have decided that the unfailingly accurate test of good moral character is lack of criminal record. Similarly, moral turpitude is interpreted as possession of a certain kind of criminal record, ranging from mail fraud to obstructing justice.

The Clearinghouse is waging battle

State Board of Barber Examiners
Be it known that
John Doe
has met all requirements prescribed by law and regulations and is hereby registered as a
Barber
in accordance with an act of Congress approved June 7, 1938
In witness whereof, the said Board caused this certificate to be granted and attested by the official seal of the State this 7th day of April 1975
President, State Board of Barber Examiners
Office of The Governor
State Board of Barber Examiners
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against the three types of prohibitions by collecting or devising instruments of action to eliminate unreasonable job restrictions, isolating basic legal principles which licensing restrictions appear to violate, and bringing these instruments and principles to the attention of those in a position to use them.

One instrument for action chosen by the Clearinghouse is a model licensing statute prepared by the Georgetown University Law Center Institute of Criminal Law and Procedure. This model, which provides for automatic restoration of licensing rights to an ex-offender, offers a guide to remedial action at the State level. The model statute is included in a Clearinghouse publication, *Removing Offender Employment Restrictions, A Handbook on Remedial Legislation and Other Techniques for Alleviating Formal Employment Restrictions Confronting Ex-Convicts.*

The handbook also contains other action tools that State legislatures, Governors, and attorneys general may use to remove licensing barriers. These include a sample statute removing offender employment restrictions; citations and examples of statutes expunging, annulling, and sealing a criminal record; and an example of an effective State Executive order and attorney general's opinion setting forth the considerations to be taken into account before a license may be denied.

The practical approach used in the handbook is also apparent in the *Guide to Legislative Action,* which the Clearinghouse is now preparing for publication. As described by Project Director Hunt, "The guide examines the legislative process in several of the States that have enacted laws removing ex-offender employment restrictions, and then identifies the sponsor of the legislation, tells how he or she came to initiate it, describes the kind of committee that considered the proposed statute, and discusses the nature of the support for (or opposition to) the legislation, the legislative strategy used, and the role of the Governor's office."

The Clearinghouse has also compiled Federal constitutional provisions and related decisions and precedents to support suits to challenge State laws containing unreasonable licensing restrictions. Called *Constitutional Challenges to Employment Disability Statutes,* the compilation documents the ex-offender's right to such basic guarantees as are expressed in the due process, equal protection, and cruel and unusual punishment clauses of the Constitution.

For example, *Constitutional Challenges,* written by senior staff attorney Robert Plotkin of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association's National Law Office, examines a number of features in State licensing laws that appear to violate the due process guarantee of the 14th amendment. Plotkin points out that "Most civil disabilities statutes create a conclusive statutory presumption that the convicted criminal is unfit to exercise certain rights or privileges or to perform numerous functions." He then cites various Supreme Court decisions that seem to offer a

Catch-22

legal basis by which the constitutionality of the presumption could be challenged successfully.

Unreasonable licensing restrictions also abridge or violate other legal principles and are thus vulnerable to legal challenge. For example, restrictions involving "moral character" and "moral turpitude" tests can be opposed on the grounds that they are ambiguous and can thus foster and facilitate arbitrary action by State licensing authorities.

The Clearinghouse brings such legal principles and the instruments for changing licensing laws to the attention of legislators, attorneys, and others such as the ex-offender employment program of the National Alliance of Businessmen, through such publications as *Removing Offender Employment Restrictions; Constitutional Challenges;* and *Laws, Licenses, and the Offender's Right to Work.* It also publishes pamphlets and reprints from other relevant publications, and a newsletter, the *Offender Employment Review.* In addition, Clearinghouse ABA attorneys disseminate information through workshops, conferences on ex-offender problems, and testimony before State legislative committees, as well as other personal contact with concerned persons.

The result of all this activity has surprised even the most ardent Clearinghouse advocates. Former New Jersey Governor and Chief Justice Richard J. Hughes, who played a key role in gaining Federal support for the Clearinghouse concept as chairman of ABA's Corrections Commission said in September 1974: "To our amazement . . . over one-third of the States have actually passed remedial legislation or regulations since the Clearinghouse became operational in early 1972. And now," he added, "we are in a position to realize a goal of law change in 50 percent of the States by the end of next June."

"If the 50-percent level is reached," Hughes continued, "it will indeed be a near record 3½-year sweep in 'special focus' manpower-related legislative change at the statehouse level."

California provides a good example of the kind of constructive action referred to by Governor Hughes. A 1972 law established standards that licensing boards needed to follow in determining whether the applicant possessed the requisite good moral character. Reversing the old presumption against the ex-offender, the law created a new presumption that an applicant possessed the good moral character necessary by providing that no act of the applicant could be considered grounds for denying a license if it did not have "a substantial relationship to the functions and responsibilities of the license's business or profession."

Another Giant Step

Recently, the California Legislature went a giant step further. It enacted an additional statute deleting the good moral character requirement entirely and requiring licensing boards to develop criteria to help determine whether a license should be denied because of conviction of crime.

The 1967 President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, after one of the most thorough examinations of the corrections system in our history, stated that "The task of corrections . . . includes building or rebuilding solid ties between the offender and the community, integrating or reintegrating the offender into community life . . . [and] . . . this requires not only efforts directed toward changing the individual offender, which has been almost the exclusive focus of rehabilitation, but also mobilization and change of the community and its institutions."

By helping to remove the ex-offender's Catch-22, this is precisely what the Clearinghouse is doing. But it would be a mistake to focus exclusively on the benefit thus gained by the ex-offender. For it is clearly society's Catch-22 that is being removed as well. As acting Deputy Secretary for the State of Washington's Department of Social and Health Services, Donald J. Horowitz, put it: "We are . . . involved in a system which defeats itself, in a system where through the work ethic and the values of our society, we applaud hard work and productive activity, while at the same time denying exactly that opportunity to do hard work and productive activity to persons we expect to, in fact demand, act responsibly. We try to rehabilitate, and then we place barriers to rehabilitation, in fact initiate an active impetus back to a life of crime."

Horowitz adds that the perpetuation of unreasonable barriers ". . . denies any effectiveness at all in our correctional system, because it assumes that a person is just as bad when he comes out as when he went in and that he might as well not have gone into the correctional system at all."

Society has been saying that it is barring the way to productive employment in large areas of activity to protect itself from the possibility of antisocial deeds by ex-offenders, and is thereby increasing the certainty that a significant number of ex-offenders, denied licit employment, will find illicit ways to make a living and so commit antisocial deeds. This is clearly another Catch-22, but, thanks largely to the results-oriented research carried out by the Clearinghouse, it is a Catch-22 being recognized and removed by a growing number of States. □

Words & Figures

CETA Participant Characteristics

During their first quarter year of operations, July to September 1974, sponsors under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973 provided manpower services and training to 121,100 persons under Title I of the act and to 13,250 persons under Title II. The social and economic characteristics of these two client groups differed greatly, but both groups had pressing needs for manpower services.

Most participants in programs authorized by Title I, which provides for financial assistance to State and local governments for comprehensive manpower services, were young and had not completed high school. Slightly over 70 percent of Title I participants were under 22 years old, and two-thirds of the clients in this age group were full-time students. Inasmuch as 45 percent of all Title I participants were still attending school full time, it is not surprising that a high proportion—57 percent—had 9 to 11 years of education.

The youthfulness of Title I participants largely reflects the fact that nearly three-fifths of the clients receiving Title I services under CETA were in work-experience projects similar to the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC). Enrollment in this type of program was relatively high because school systems, with their easy access to eligible youth, were able to draw large numbers of students into NYC-type activities while other kinds of Title I projects were still having startup problems.

Nearly all Title I participants had backgrounds of poverty. Almost 3 out of 10 were receiving public assistance at the time of their enrollment, and 86 percent were considered economically disadvantaged.

Persons placed in transitional public service jobs under Title II of CETA were generally older and had more education than Title I participants. The characteristics of persons served by Title II were similar to those of participants in the old Public Employment Program, which Title II replaced.

Some 62 percent of workers placed in jobs under Title II were 22 to 44 years old, and another 15 percent were 45 and older. About 3 out of 4 Title II participants had finished high school, and 98 percent were in the work force. Some 86 percent of Title II participants were unemployed, but only 6 percent were receiving unemployment insurance benefits.

Sex and race differences were also apparent. While Title I participants were divided almost evenly between males and females, men outnumbered women by about 2 to 1 in Title II placements. Blacks accounted for over a third—35 percent—of Title I enrollments but only 24 percent of those served by Title II.

Almost 1 out of every 5 persons filling a public service job was a Vietnam veteran, and another 15 percent were veterans who had served their country at other times.

CETA Participants: July—September 1974

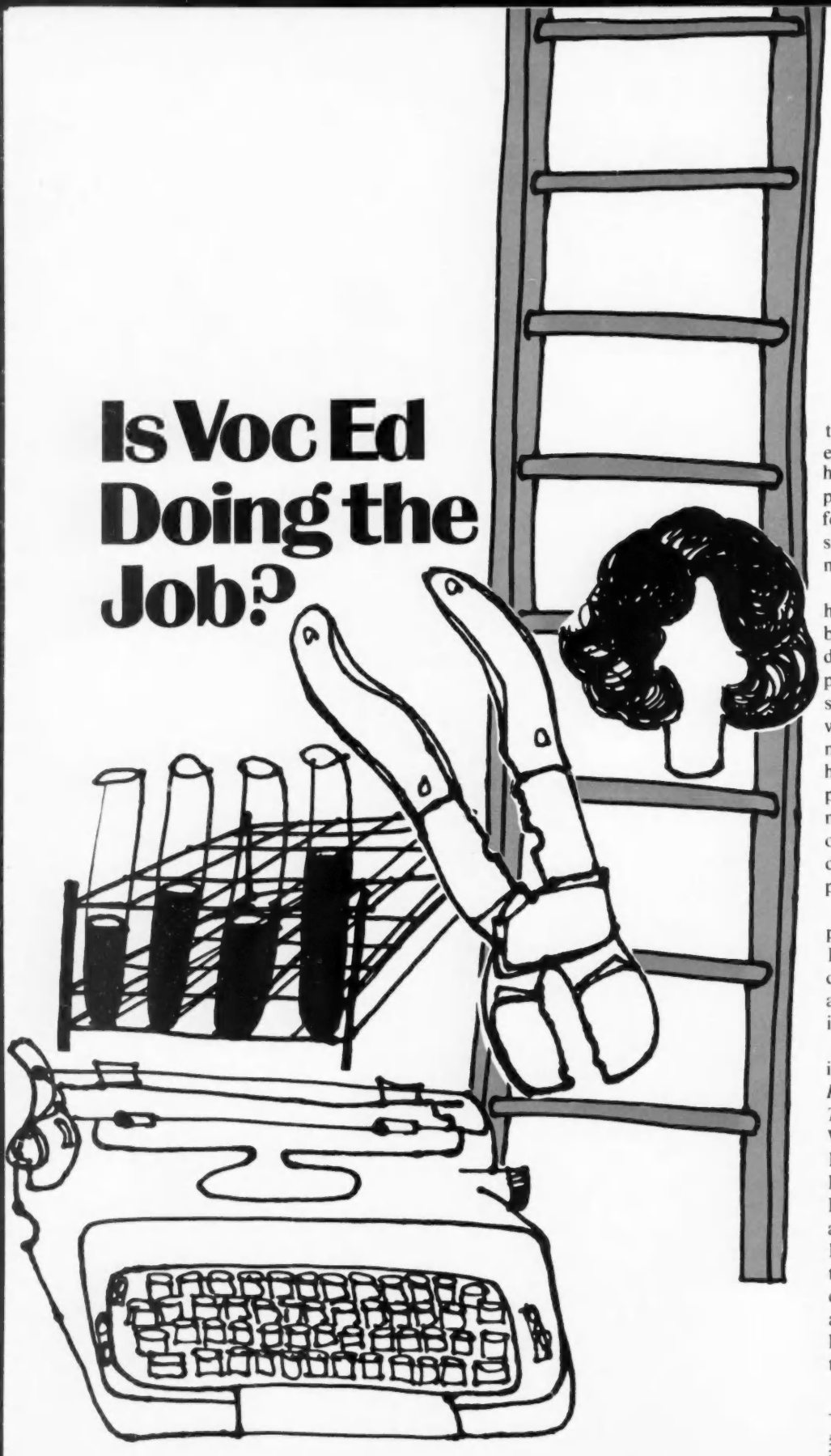
	Enrollments (percent)	
	Title I (121,100 persons served)	Title II (13,250 persons served)
Total	100.0[1]	100.0
Placements or terminations	15.4	8.7
Enrollment by program activity[2]		
Classroom training	20.6	1.1
On-the-job training	4.2	0.8
Public service employment	1.2	90.9
Work experience	56.8	7.2
Other activities	4.2	(3)
Sex		
Male	51.8	67.3
Female	48.2	32.7
Age		
Under 22	71.3	22.9
22 - 44	22.3	62.1
45 - 55	3.4	10.0
56 and over	3.0	5.0
Ethnic group		
White	60.9	72.6
Black	35.3	23.5
American Indian	1.8	1.2
Other	2.0	2.7
Veteran		
Special Vietnam	4.0	18.9
Other	3.6	15.6
Full-time student	44.8	3.4

[1] Characteristics percents are based on reports covering about 53 percent of actual enrollment in Title I and 61 percent of enrollment in Title II.

[2] Figures do not total 100 percent because participants may be enrolled in more than one activity and may be provided services without being enrolled in a program activity.

[3] Less than 0.1 percent.

Is Voc Ed Doing the Job?



Postsecondary vocational education—traditionally regarded by many in higher education as its unglamorous stepchild—has re-emerged, in recent years, as a promising chance for upward mobility for thousands of today's postsecondary students and as a vital element in many manpower training programs.

Typically, these students are new to higher education—new in the sense of being first-generation postsecondary students whose blue-collar fathers completed only high school. Also, these students include a high proportion of women and of blacks and other ethnic minorities: Groups which in the past have not had as many opportunities to pursue higher education as they have now. Many "new" students have previously failed in school, but have strong desires to prepare themselves for a productive job or career.

A basic question being asked about postsecondary vocational education is: How effective is it in training its students for jobs and in helping them to achieve the upward mobility it promises?

One answer to this important question is contained in *The Effectiveness of Public and Proprietary Occupational Training*, an October 1974 study by Wellford W. Wilms, of the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley.[1] This study, conducted under a grant from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's National Institute of Education, has spawned some controversy and a great deal of concern among educators, administrators, legislators, and others concerned with vocational education.

The study's major findings, briefly

[1] The study is available for $5 from the Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, 2150 Shattuck, Berkeley, Calif., 94074. Please include 50 cents for handling.

summarized, are: That contrary to Wilms' expectations, graduates of proprietary, or profitmaking, schools had no greater success in the job market than graduates of public schools; that in professional and technical-level occupations, neither public school nor proprietary school graduates had a very high degree of success in obtaining jobs for which they had trained; that neither type of school made substantial headway in helping disadvantaged students to overcome barriers of class and income; and that proprietary school graduates generally were less satisfied with their training than public school graduates were with theirs.

Postsecondary vocational students are now enrolled at almost 1,000 community colleges and public technical schools and at 10,000 proprietary schools. Tax-supported public institutions of higher learning have over a million vocational students; in community colleges alone, vocational students comprise over one-third of the population—up from about 25 percent in the 1960's. Proprietary schools enroll over 3 million postsecondary vocational students each year and earn at least $2.5 billion in gross annual revenue.

Thus, it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of adequately measuring the effectiveness of postsecondary vocational training. In "The Surprising Seventies," an article written in 1970, Peter Drucker concluded that the influx of young people into the labor market would increase competition for jobs, resulting in a need for new employment sources. The capital to create and maintain these sources, Drucker suggested, would have to come from increased productivity, which in turn would depend on effective occupational training.

There has been a massive infusion of Federal money into vocational education—a fact that becomes increasingly significant for policymakers as academic and business interests merge: Academic vocational schools seek to acquire business expertise; proprietary vocational schools become more concerned with such things as accreditation, transfer of credit, and degree-granting status; and the scramble for Federal dollars intensifies.

Another policy responsibility is that of the Federal Trade Commission (FTC), which is working with the proprietary school industry to come up with stricter regulations of profitmaking schools, to cut down on rip-offs of students by unscrupulous proprietary school operators.

Study Has Wide Scope

The Wilms study is of particular interest to policymakers because of its wide scope. It is based on a random sample of 2,671 postsecondary vocational students. The sample represents: 21 public schools and 29 proprietary schools; three separate groups of students—those beginning school in September 1973, those getting ready to graduate in spring 1973, and graduates from the 1970–71 and 1972–73 school years; four major metropolitan areas—San Francisco, Miami, Chicago, and Boston—which differ from each other politically, socially, and in terms of higher education policy; and six large, fast-growing occupations widely varying from one another in character—accountant, computer programer, electronics technician, dental assistant, secretary, and cosmetologist (hair-dresser or beautician). The first three of these occupations are relatively high-status, the second three relatively low-status. A high percentage of the sample—85 percent, or 2,270 students—was interviewed intensively by the National Opinion Research Center, Chicago.

Wilms starts with the theory that public and proprietary postsecondary vocational schools differ in three important areas:

- *Source of income.* The proprietary school derives its income through the market mechanism. Public schools derive income from a central budgeting agency or through the political process.
- *Allocation of resources.* Whereas the demands of the job market and profit considerations largely determine how proprietary schools spend time and money, public schools rely primarily on last year's budget for their determinations.
- *Institutional characteristics.* Proprietary schools tend to have limited objectives; to select students with a high probability for successful job placement; to offer flexible scheduling, featuring such things as short courses, year-round operation, frequent course starts, and both morning and afternoon curricula; to stress low-cost training techniques such as work/study programs, audiovisual aids, programed instruction, team teaching, and courses broken down into short, sequential units; to hire, retain, and promote teachers according to how well they prepare students for job placement; and to emphasize such placement. Public schools, on the other hand, tend to have multiple objectives; to require more courses unrelated to employment; to have open admission; to schedule in line with institutional and governmental regulations; to react cautiously to low-cost training techniques; to hire, retain, and promote teachers according to previous teaching experience, degrees held, and tenure; and to place less emphasis on job placement.

By and large, the schools in the study conform to these differences, and there

'Only 2 out of 10 graduates from both public and proprietary schools who chose professional or technical-level training ever got professional or technical-level jobs; the rest became clerks or took low-paying unrelated jobs.'

were differences in physical, personnel, and fiscal characteristics as well. The 29 proprietary schools were, on the average, 14 years older than the 21 public schools (16 community colleges, three technical schools, a business college, and a trade high school offering a post-secondary certificate.) Average proprietary school enrollment was 291; average public school enrollment was some 27 times larger—7,867. Many of the public schools were new, sprawling complexes, whereas the proprietary schools were more likely to be located over a local dime store or in a refurbished factory.

"Take your average university president's office and board room," said one proprietary-school owner, "divide by two, and you get the size of the average proprietary school."

Generally, the proprietary schools had fewer resources, but used them on programs specifically designed to prepare students for successful employment. Proprietary programs were more intensive—students attended school an average of 25 - 30 hours each week, compared with 15 hours in public schools. Proprietary school teachers had less formal education than their public school counterparts, but slightly more work experience. They worked harder and were paid less, although their situation was better in accredited schools. Public vocational programs cost about 2.75 times more to run than comparable programs in proprietary schools; but since most public program costs are borne by taxpayers, the average proprietary school student paid 20 times more for training than the average public school student.

The Wilms study began with the hypothesis that, based on the differences in institutional characteristics, and after controlling for differences in background and ability among the students in the study's sample, graduates of proprietary schools would have greater occupational success than graduates of comparable public programs. The study controlled for differences in background and ability by separating out and correlating such factors as age, earnings while in school, region, job tenure, sex, race, and ethnic origin. Wilms contends that in such control lies something distinctive about his study, for, he says, no previous study of the effectiveness of proprietary and public vocational training was thus controlled.

The findings of the study in regard to this hypothesis are of particular concern among those interested in the effectiveness of vocational education. Except for secretaries, the hypothesis was not confirmed; in fact, the study finds that with few exceptions, graduates of public schools in its sample had about the same success in the labor market as graduates of proprietary schools. Even more worrisome to some is that the degree of success was not found to be very high.

Few Got Professional Jobs

Only 2 out of 10 graduates from both public and proprietary schools who chose professional or technical-level training ever got professional or technical-level jobs; the rest became clerks or took low-paying unrelated jobs. Although almost 8 out of 10 public and proprietary school graduates from lower level clerical or service-worker programs got jobs related to their training, they barely earned—again with the exception of secretaries—the Federal minimum wage.

There was no relationship between the institutional characteristics of public schools and the success of their graduates. There was only a limited relationship between the institutional characteristics of proprietary schools and the success of their graduates—graduates were likely to do better if they came from schools which were moderately large, paid their teachers more, and gave their teachers lighter course loads.

Neither public nor proprietary schools achieved much success in helping disadvantaged-background students to overcome barriers of class and income. In comparable jobs, women always earned less than men, and blacks and other ethnic minorities, in all but one case, less than whites.

Finally, proprietary school graduates generally were less satisfied with their training than public school graduates were with theirs—apparently because of the greater intensity, and larger financial charges to the student, of many proprietary school programs.

"I did it, I hated it, but I learned something." Wilms cites this remark, made by a secretarial proprietary school graduate about a rote-training exercise she had to repeat until she could type 80 words per minute, as typical of the feelings of many proprietary school graduates about the intensity of their training.

As for financial charges to the student, those in proprietary schools ranged from $412 for a 9-month course in cosmetology to $3,024 for an 18-month course in electronics-technician training, while those in public schools ranged from $9 for a 1-year course in dental assisting to $368 for a 2-year course in computer programing. The smaller public school charges, of course, largely result from the substantial amount of tax support for public school programs. Overall, the average out-of-pocket cost to a proprietary school student was 20 times more than the average out-of-pocket cost to a public school student.

The findings of the Wilms study that neither public nor proprietary postsecondary vocational training is compensating for disadvantaged students' backgrounds are also of particular concern among those interested in what kind of a job vocational education is doing. The study finds, for example, that while less advantaged students were more likely to choose proprietary schools, and while these schools recruited and held such students better than public schools, the occupational status of proprietary school graduates showed that they had done little catching up with their more advantaged peers. These findings especially distress Wilms because an earlier study of his had indicated that public school and proprietary school students near graduation had approximately equal salary expectations, suggesting that the proprietary schools might play a compensatory role.

As for public schools in the study, Wilms concludes that they are failing to attract the less advantaged students for whom he says they were presumably designed. He finds that they behave—in terms of administration and of student/faculty recruitment—as extensions of the academic middle-class public secondary-school system, and that they thus discourage applications from less advantaged students.

Hiring Bias Discussed

The study also discusses that Wilms sees as a hiring bias in favor of 4-year college graduates. For example, accounting graduates from both public and proprietary schools who got accounting jobs—and only 2 out of every 10 of these graduates did—earned an average of $131 per week, whereas 4-year college graduates in comparable jobs were making an average of $204 per week.

Wilms concludes his study with seven recommendations for improving public and proprietary postsecondary vocational training. They are:

- *Federal Government steps to insure that potential vocational students have access to reliable information on vocational education programs.* This would include information both on employment objectives of these programs and on how well the programs are meeting their objectives. It would apply to both public and proprietary programs. Wilms supports, for instance, proposed FTC regulation of proprietary school claims, but feels that public schools should also be regulated.
- *Federal standards of effectiveness for vocational schools.* Certification of these schools would be based on their ability to place graduates in the jobs for which they have been trained.
- *Federal, State, and local action to insure that vocational schools adhere to truth-in-advertising requirements.* Proposed FTC regulation would accomplish this for proprietary schools, but Wilms feels that such regulation again should apply also to public schools, and that State and local governments should bring about similar regulation.
- *Action by Federal, State, and local governments, and by individual vocational schools, to insure that their graduates receive equal pay for equal work.* Wilms feels that this will help to prevent such job discrimination against women and against blacks and other ethnic minorities as his study found; and while he recognizes that some schools might try to get around this by recruiting only students whom they regard as most employable, he believes that incentive plans for cooperating schools would help to forestall such a maneuver.
- *Federal, State, and local encouragement of experimentation in vocational education.* Wilms feels that improved coordination between public and

proprietary schools would result in each type of school concentrating on what it does best—public schools on long-range programs requiring large capital investment, for instance, and proprietary schools on lower capital, shorter term programs with quicker investment returns—and in innovative techniques such as public schools subcontracting out to proprietary schools for skill training.

• *Evaluation by public and proprietary schools of their objectives and of how well they are meeting these objectives.* The schools should ask themselves such questions as: Are our goals realistic? Is there a job market for our graduates? Are our graduates qualified for most of the jobs in their fields? Are our graduates getting a fair return on their investments of time and money?

The Wilms study has evoked many critical responses—some negative, some positive, some both. Richard Fulton, for instance, executive director of the Association of Independent Colleges and Schools—a national association with substantial proprietary school representation—contends that since the primary difference between public and proprietary schools is simply in their methods of economic organization, there is nothing unusual in finding that the two types of school are essentially equal in the extent of their success or failure educationally.

Many initial press accounts of the study reported that it shows proprietary school students to be "dissatisfied" with their education. Actually, Fulton says, the study only shows that on Wilms' scale of satisfaction, they are somewhat less satisfied than their public school counterparts.

"I think this lesser degree of satisfaction merely reflects," adds Fulton, "a tendency for proprietary school students to see the world more as it really is."

Fulton agrees with the study's finding that many employers regard vocational training as a screening process, but feels that this is true for all areas of the education/employment relationship. And he thinks that while legislators, as the study indicates, should adopt and enforce standards insuring that adequate information is furnished to potential students, the content of these standards should be determined primarily by educators.

Methodology Questioned

Edmund J. Gleazer, Jr., president of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges, questions much of the Wilms study's methodology, arguing that its information about the schools examined—in terms of their location, accreditation, size, student type, teacher quality, and program offerings, is insufficient to enable the reader to make a determination about the study's accuracy. Gleazer contends that vocational schools have been much more successful in placing their graduates into jobs in the fields for which they were trained than the Wilms study indicates.

Similar criticisms have been voiced by the National Association of Trade and Technical Schools (NATTS) and by the American Vocational Association (AVA). NATTS believes, for instance, that it is not primarily what happens in vocational schools that maintains class and income inequalities, but what happens in the employment market, where—as the study indicates—there is a definite bias for academic rather than vocational training. And AVA, in discussing Wilms' recommendation for standards of vocational school effectiveness, maintains that it would be unfair to base these—as Wilms would—on a school's placement record, since the school has no control over job openings.

Other observers say that while the Wilms study correctly points out the exaggerated nature of many vocational school claims, its conclusion that neither proprietary nor public schools do much to help disadvantaged students overcome barriers of class and income is not clearly supported by the study's data. The study, these observers continue, does not compare its vocational students with a similar group of nonvocational students.

Wilms welcomes comments on his study and feels that there is more unhurried evaluation of it now than there was immediately after its publication, when there were several overdramatized press reports and critical responses. Wilms points out, for instance, in answer to critics who have accused him of generalizing about *all* vocational schools, that there is no way to get the information necessary to do this and that it would be too costly anyway. Rather, Wilms says, he has evaluated a meaningful sample of vocational schools and has brought his evaluations to the attention of those in a position to correct what he regards as some serious deficiencies in vocational education. He agrees that much of the responsibility for overcoming class and income inequalities is with employers, but is concerned with the tendency of both public and proprietary vocation schools to exaggerate their capacity to foster upward mobility.

Whatever the outcome of Wilms' research, he has contributed valuably to discussions focusing on a key group in our economy—persons who have few ways to move up the economic ladder, and to whom an investment in vocational education is a once-in-a-lifetime effort to break out of a place on the lowest rungs. □

Firm Support For Summer Jobs

by Winston C. Gifford

"Summer jobs? How can we hire kids for the summer? We don't have any openings for *permanent* jobs!"

That was a common reaction from business leaders who were asked to hire youth last summer. Similar responses are likely to be even more widespread this year, even among those employers who most want to help.

Confronted with the same dilemma, a desire to help alleviate summer youth unemployment but an inability to provide openings, Ralston Purina Company of St. Louis believes it has found an answer. Every summer since 1971, the company has paid community service agencies to hire low-income teenagers for work which meets the social needs of the youngsters' own neighborhoods. The community agencies—YMCA's, YWCA's, antipoverty organizations, churches, volunteer groups, and urban affairs departments of local government agencies, for example—provide the link between the company and teenagers who need summer jobs.

Last year, Ralston Purina grants went to 21 community and government agencies which put 358 youth to work for the summer. Working 20 hours a week for 10 weeks at $2 an hour, these youngsters earned a total of $155,240, all of it paid by the company. About the same amount is budgeted for this year's job program.

"We had two primary goals in mind when we started the program, and they remain the same for 1975," notes Vice President John P. Baird, who directs the company's social responsibility programs.

"First, we are insisting that these jobs are of a skill-producing nature . . . work which will give the young person experience which will be useful not only

to his or her community but also to the worker in terms of planning an adult career.

"Second, the agencies interview and hire only youth who are planning to begin their senior year of high school in the fall. It is our hope that the salaries will help to discourage dropping out because of a lack of money within the family. Judging by the reports we receive from the agencies, the jobs have helped to meet those objectives in a number of instances."

In order to make the ambitious work-experience goals of the program a reality, the company's Urban Programs staff, which in early spring accepts proposals from community agencies who want to take part in the program, requires specific information from the organizations which apply. Proposals must explain clearly and justify the type of work to be done by each youth hired by the agency. In addition, each agency must demonstrate that its staff will be able to supervise effectively each youth hired to complete specific work tasks. The company's Urban Programs staff uses this information to evaluate the proposals and to fund selected programs.

The young people hired through the program in 1974 worked in a wide variety of jobs, including police community relations aide, reading tutor, social service supervisor, printer's helper, housing surveyor, playground aide, and teaching assistant. Most jobs were available in Ralston Purina's home office city, but the company also funded a few jobs in San Pedro, Calif., Louisville, Ky., and Cincinnati, Ohio, all cities with substantial company operations.

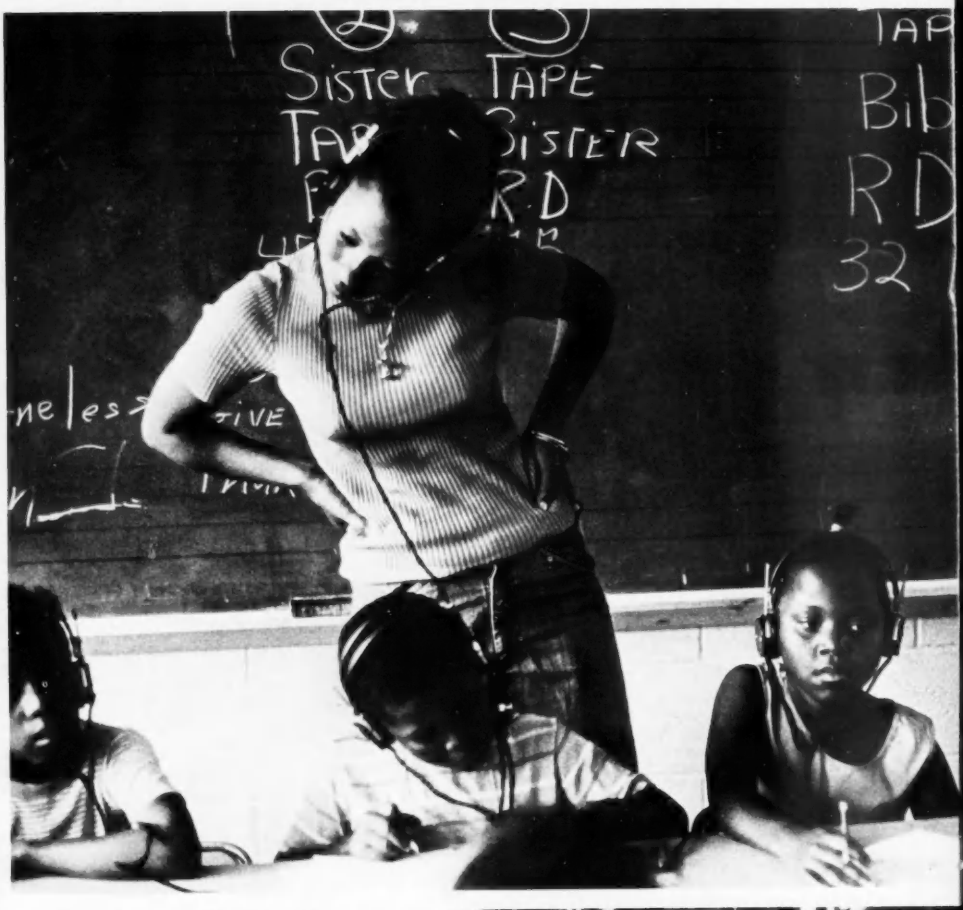
One innovative aspect of last year's summer program was the use of job funds to hire youth for minority-owned businesses. With a grant of $16,000, the Urban Affairs Department, a branch of the city government in East St. Louis, Ill., put 40 teenagers to work at minority businesses scattered throughout the economically depressed community.

Beside providing local young people worthwhile job experience in such fields as clerical, secretarial, marketing, and retailing work, this arrangement helped the minority businesses by providing them added manpower at no added cost. Several employers who took part in the program subsequently hired on a permanent basis the young people who had been hired for the summer.

Winston Gifford is manager of Urban Programs for the Ralston Purina Company.

A city agency in East St. Louis, Illinois, used Ralston Purina funds to place 40 teenagers in minority-owned businesses such as this store. The teenagers earned summer income and the businesses got additional summer manpower at no added cost.

Teenagers hired through the 1974 summer jobs program worked in a wide variety of jobs. Here, a teenager helps to supervise a supplemental education program for young children from inner-city neighborhoods.



Summer Jobs

Another 1974 grant enabled 25 teenagers to earn money by fixing up the homes of elderly citizens. The grant was made to "We Care," a small local program in which adults with skills in masonry, wiring, tile repair, painting, and other types of home construction work volunteered to help elderly persons who were unable to repair or maintain their homes for physical or economic reasons. During the summer, the volunteers supervised teenagers who were eager to learn the skills and to help the senior citizens.

By summer's end, the youngsters had helped make dozens of homes in the Wellston, Mo., community safer and more attractive. In the process, they learned about several types of work, themselves, and the myth of the generation gap—often while drinking the gallons of lemonade or eating the homemade pies that elderly citizens were delighted to offer.

Ralston Purina has enjoyed many benefits from its summer jobs program. The company has had the satisfaction of knowing that its money is going to aid many young people in a very direct way. Moreover, the program is generating goodwill as low-income youth hired through the program tell their parents, relatives, and friends that the company sponsored their summer jobs.

The most difficult problem the company has encountered in the program is the administrative task of evaluating fairly and effectively the many proposals received from community agencies. To make this task easier, company adminis-

Shirley Ann Morris, left, worked as a nursery aide last summer. With her and the children is Wanda Dietriech.

Last summer, 25 teenagers hired through "We Care," a small volunteer program, helped to repair the homes of elderly persons who could not do the work themselves. The youngsters earned $2 an hour.

trators insist on receiving proposals written in plain English with a minimum of gobbledygook. Regardless of whether a proposal is submitted by an agency that has received a summer jobs grant in the past or by a first-time applicant, administrators call for strong evidence of the basics: A description of the program, including its need; the rationale for the program's design, and an itemized budget with justification for each entry.

The company is particularly interested in funding innovative hiring programs, but it studies grant proposals carefully to assure that innovations are not mere novelties but designs that actually will work to meet the program goals to which the company is committed. The focus is therefore on what the programs will do for people, not on sweeping claims or complicated statistics.

Because of budget limitations, the many good proposals submitted to the company must be ranked according to priority needs within the local community. Acceptances and rejections are subject to dispute, of course, but corporate officials do their homework within the community before attempting to evaluate not only the quality of proposed programs but the need for them as well.

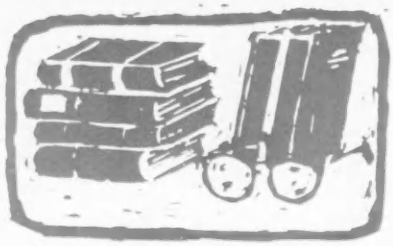
Program administrators strongly believe that they must maintain a friendly but businesslike and objective relationship with outside organizations applying for grants in order to avoid any taint of cronyism. In an era when many social agencies need additional funding, corporate sponsors selecting grant recipients are in the same position as a mother robin dispensing one worm to a full nest.

While it is impossible to quantify the value of its summer jobs program, Ralston Purina is convinced that the summer job experiences it provides help to remove a bit of the uncertainty many young people face in their trial-and-error attempts to make education and career decisions. The company also believes such experiences help young people get to know themselves better and develop greater self-confidence and self-respect. From a humanitarian standpoint, the program allows young people to feel good for having completed tasks which are needed and which, as in the repair work on the homes of the elderly, have long gone undone.

The company has followed the career paths of a few of the past years' jobholders and has become aware that when given the opportunity for personal challenge and responsibility, young people demonstrate a will to excel which shatters many stereotyped beliefs about what they can accomplish.

For these reasons, Ralston Purina is convinced that a summer job program for youth is a sound investment in the future. Perhaps other firms who wish to make the same investment but cannot supply summer jobs directly also will find it worthwhile to use community agencies as the key to new job opportunities for youth. □

Book Reviews



The Vintage of Imposed Benevolence

The Future of Imprisonment

by Norval Morris

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1974. 144 pages, $6.95.

When Alexis de Tocqueville visited the United States in 1831, his initial purpose was far removed from the acute insights into our national character and social and political system that were eventually to appear in his classic *Democracy in America*. His goal was much more limited: To examine the prisons and penitentiaries of the United States. Why should the French, one of the world's oldest and most advanced civilizations, be at all interested in the prisons and penitentiaries of a Nation that had not yet reached the 50th anniversary of its Constitution, and which a great many cultured Europeans considered both undeveloped and unworthy of emulation?

The answer is both simple and surprising: Prison—as distinguished from the jail, the dungeon, slave galley, workhouse, reformatory, or almshouse—is an American invention.

Not only is it an American invention, it is an American invention flowing directly from one of our basic national characteristics: It was designed as a *humane* alternative to the other methods then commonly used in dealing with felons—mutilation, exile, corporal punishment, death. The Pennsylvania Quakers who devised the prison in the 1790's saw it as a place where convicted felons could become rehabilitated through isolation, repentance, and the beneficial effects of close, continual contact with the Bible. It was seen as a place to become penitent and to improve. It was a *penitent*-iary.

This strain of enforced, benevolent improvement of the imprisoned still guides much of our present corrections policy. This book makes a convincing case that this is one of the major reasons why our corrections system is failing to correct, and why, if de Toqueville traveled here today, his mission might well be to determine how it came to be that a system established with such benign motives is producing so many corrosive results.

A careful look at *The Future of Imprisonment* would provide not only many of the answers, but remedies as well. The author, professor of law and criminology and director of the Center for Studies in Criminal Justice at the University of Chicago, argues that a key reason for our prisons' failing to rehabilitate stems from a fundamental error, tracable to policy launched by that first Pennsylvania prison: The length of time to be spent as a penitent was to be based on the nature of the crime. Less time for the less serious. More time for the more serious. Fair enough. Fair enough if the purpose is to punish and to banish, but neither fair nor wise if the purpose is to rehabilitate.

As Morris put it in what can also serve as a sample of his supple, aphoristic style, "The penitent willingly suffers the pains of penance for the larger good in which he believes; the self-reformative zeal of the prisoner is less frequently apparent."

Rehabilitation, in short, cannot be coerced. Coerced rehabilitation, as with calculated passion or informed ignorance, is an artificial construct at war with itself.

This is the basic insight informing Morris' subtle, realistic assessment of what must be done to make the future of imprisonment one worthy of, and supportive of, a democratic society.

Disagreeing with both the tenderhearted who want to abolish prisons, and the hardhearted who would, by "locking them up and throwing away the key," abolish prisoners, he accepts the need for prisons together with the need to make them more effective. This can be achieved only by breaking all the connections between "coerced cure" and the length of time to be served. "We must abandon the model of physical medicine as a guide," he asserts. "Education, vocational training, counseling, and group therapy should continue to be provided but on an entirely voluntary basis. There should be no suggestion that a prisoner's release may be accelerated because of participation in such programs, nor that it might be delayed or postponed because of failure to participate. Nor in reality should these factors have anything to do with the length of sentence served. The approach adopted should be in no way *coercive* but simply *facilitative*. Rehabilitative purposes must become collateral to prison purposes." Why? If an inmate is to abandon the attitudes that produced his or her criminality, there must be a *desire* to change, not, as at present, merely going through the motions of change to "con" prison administrators into earlier release.

Morris not only makes a convincing argument against the present system of coerced cure and imposed benevolence, he takes the important further step of providing a detailed blueprint of a model prison for violent offenders that would test his ideas in practice. This new prison, in which up to 200 randomly chosen volunteers would be placed, would substitute for the present climate of arbitrary and discriminatory practices something more in keeping with the realities of human nature: A prison universe in which the inmates know at every moment where they stand.

At the model facility, final-release and graduated-trial-release schedules would be agreed upon at the outset, and only limited, specified, clearly understood actions by the prisoner, such as violent behavior, could adversely affect the release schedule. A whole range of rehabilitative programs would be available, and intuitive predictions about future behavior would be discarded for a program of furloughs, daytime work-release or study-release that periodically would test a prisoner's ability to return to society. In addition, prisoners would have the right to request a transfer from the model facility.

Professor Morris also deals at length with the urgent need to reform our present sentencing system and parole procedures. In regard to the latter, not only should a parole date be established before entry to prison, but it should be a far more individualized—and potentially therapeutic—process involving five parties in the determination of parole date: judge, criminal, prosecuting and defense attorneys, and victim.

This book can be invaluable to anyone involved with the corrections system in any way, including those responsible for vocational training and other manpower programs. It has an extensive bibliography.

Timothy Larkin

Timothy Larkin is a contributing editor of MANPOWER.

Publications

Following is a selected list of publications on manpower and related matters. Single copies of Manpower Administration publications for which no price is indicated can be obtained free by writing or telephoning the Inquiries Division, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Room 10225, 6th and D Sts. NW., Washington, D.C. 20213. Requests for copies of other free publications listed should be sent directly to the address given in the specific listing. Please enclose a self-addressed label with all requests for free publications. For publications not available free, write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402, or the specified address given, and enclose payment.

American Manpower Today

A Manpower Administration, three color, illustrated information booklet contains concise descriptions of all principal manpower activities funded by the Department of Labor. Text is comprehensive but not technical. It tells manpower clients what the programs are, how they work, and where services are available. Provides material useful to local program sponsors and project staffs, students seeking general information about manpower activities, and those interested in research on manpower subjects. Can be of value to employers, union officials, and others with manpower concerns. 75 cents.

Merchandising Your Job Talents—1974 Revision

Manpower Administration pamphlet for jobhunters tells where they can learn more about the kinds of jobs for which they are qualified; how to prepare a resume; how to write a letter of application; where to get information on job opportunities in specific occupational fields; and how to present their qualifications at job interviews. Also offers tips on planning time, taking tests, and learning to profit from job interviews. 50 cents.

Open the Doors Wider

Manpower Administration folder tells workers whom to contact if they are discriminated against on the job.

Apprenticeship Training in the 1970's: Report of a Conference

Manpower Administration monograph based on a mid-1973 Department of Labor-sponsored conference at which some of the country's foremost scholars presented and discussed their research findings on numerous aspects of apprenticeship training since the early 1960's. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 37. $1.85.

Occupational Manpower and Training Needs, Revised 1974

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin presents both general and detailed information on the relationship between occupational manpower requirements and training needs. It is part of the Bureau's program for preparing and disseminating projections of the economy to 1985 and information on the manpower implications of these projections. Specify BLS Bulletin 1824. $1.80.

Job Analysis for Human Resource Management: A Review of Selected Research and Development

Manpower Administration monograph summarizes various job analysis techniques developed during the last several years, discusses their application to selected human resource management activities, and suggests priorities for further research and developmental work. Focuses primarily on Manpower Administration-funded projects and is not a comprehensive discussion of all significant research and development work in the field. Specify Manpower Research Monograph No. 36. $1.50.

Computer Manpower Outlook

Bureau of Labor Statistics bulletin gives information on current employment and education and training characteristics of computer occupations; explores impact of advancing computer technology on computer manpower and education; and projects computer occupational requirements and their implications for training. Specify BLS Bulletin 1826. $1.20.

We the Americans

A series of 15 Bureau of the Census booklets of approximately 16 pages each intended primarily for students as an aid to education. Based on data from the 1970 census, each booklet is presented in a bright color with many illustrations, photos, simple charts and graphs, and easily understood language to tell the story.

Who We Are. 45 cents.

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The American Foreign Born. 40 cents.

A 25 percent discount is given for orders of 100 or more mailed to the same address.

Journal of Developmental Disabilities

A new national quarterly journal in the field of special education covers the full range of problems under developmental disabilities. Periodic issues are devoted to single topics. Available from Journal of Developmental Disabilities, P.O. Box 8470, Gentilly Station, New Orleans, La. 70182. $8.50 annually.

Legal Rights of the Mentally Retarded

Handbook for parents and professionals is the result of more than 2 years of cooperative effort on the part of parents and professional consultants. It covers government benefits, estate planning, residential placement, marriage, divorce, and other topics. Available from Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Citizens, Inc., 127 Locust Street, Harrisburg, Pa. 17101. $2.50.

Organization of State Services for the Mentally Retarded: A Source Book

A comprehensive overview of the manner in which each State government is organized to deliver mental retardation services. Prepared from an in-depth survey of current organizational trends. Available from the National Association of Coordinators of State Programs for the Mentally Retarded, Suite 802, 2001 Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, Va. 22202. $6.50 (soft-bound), $10 (loose-leaf binder).

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Employers short of summer jobs but long on desire to help teenagers find summer work might consider an approach taken by Ralston Purina Company. Every summer since 1971, this company has paid community service agencies to hire low-income youth for work that meets the needs of the youngsters' own neighborhoods. For details, see *Firm Support for Summer Jobs* in this issue of MANPOWER.

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